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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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3 May 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

GDR CHURCH AFFAIRS DELEGATION--On 6 April Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary K. Barcikowski hosted a meeting with a visiting delegation from the GDR secretariat of state for church affairs accompanied by K. Gysi, secretary of state. The meeting was attended by the GDR ambassador, H. Neubauer. The delegation held talks at, among other places, the office for religious affairs. Discussions on problems associated with religious affairs policy were also continued during meetings with Z. Komender, vice premier and chairman of the PAX Association, and with Bishop W. Wysoczanski, chairman of the Society of Polish Catholics. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 Apr 84 p 2]

USSR ENVOY AT TRYBUNA LUDU--The USSR ambassador in Poland, Aleksandr Aksyonov, paid a visit yesterday to the editorial offices of TRYBUNA LUDU. During a meeting with TRYBUNA LUDU journalists, presided over by editor-in-chief Wieslaw Bek, Ambassador A. Aksyonov discussed some of the principal problems affecting the foreign and domestic policies of the USSR. Among the topics raised by Ambassador A. Aksyonov in his address were the Soviet Union's economic program geared toward the enhancement of economic performance efficiency, work toward the fulfillment of CPSU's political and ideological objectives, and the advancement of relations with the socialist countries on a multitude of different levels. Ambassador A. Aksyonov went on to discuss at length the successful intensification of Polish-Soviet cooperation in all fields of endeavor, also including the mutual benefits deriving from the further expansion of economic cooperation. Another subject addressed by the ambassador was the constancy of the principles underlying the Soviet peace policy and the fact that these principles remain unchanged in light of the present international situation, marked as it is by growing tensions. Ambassador A. Aksyonov then proceeded to answer numerous questions. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Mar 84 p 2]

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRG OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 38 No 12, 19 Mar 84 pp 23-25

[Interview with Philipp Jenninger, minister of state in the FRG chancellery, by DER SPIEGEL editors Olaf Petersen and Dirk Koch, date not specified: "'A Lot of Things Can Be Done'"]

[Text] [Question] Mr Minister, the Russians and the Americans are not talking any more and in the GDR and the FRG the wall of missiles is growing. Nonetheless, FRG political leaders seem to be beating Erich Honecker's door down. Is there a German-German spring sprouting in the midst of the East-West ice age ?

[Answer] I would warn you against making such general statements with regard to inner-German relations. There was no ice age and I would not say that spring has now come. We may say, however, that our efforts have led to some positive results during the past year. I might mention the credit package in this connection the main purpose of which was to get the inner-German relationship moving.

The fears that arms modernization would bring on a new inner-German ice age have turned out to be unfounded. Instead—as both Erich Honecker and Helmut Kohl have said—the dialogue and the cooperation must continue.

We will not permit ourselves to be limited to the missile issue. We are taking our mission seriously which is to bring about a German community of responsibility.

[Question] Following that first huge credit package, the GDR began to relax travel restrictions. Are you satisfied with this quid pro quo ?

[Answer] I have always said that this credit package was not a conventional business arrangement but was built on services and services rendered in return. It was a signal—and with that signal, we meant to set a process in motion to show that there are ways of developing the inner-German relationship. We wanted to offer the other side some trust and we expect the other side to justify that trust. But the process is not over. Drawing up an interim balance, however, we can already see that a good many things have happened some of which we did not expect at all.

[Question] It seems to us that many CDU/CSU politicians believe that this process will continue for all time--money on the one side and concessions on humanitarian issues on the part of the GDR. In addition to her need for foreign exchange, the GDR also wants to be recognized as a sovereign nation. Isn't it time to make some concessions to the GDR on this status issue?

[Answer] Let me make one thing very clear: we do not make policy based on "cash in exchange for humanitarian concessions." This is why we have kept these two things apart, for good reason. The signal we sent along with the credit package was: trust in exchange for trust. But we left it to the other side (which knows perfectly well what our desires are) to do whatever it considers possible on the basis of its own sovereignty. And that is the difference: that we are not making any deals on these issues.

[Question] And what about the GDR's needs with regard to sovereignty?

[Answer] There are some basic questions--such as the one regarding German citizenship--which cannot be resolved and which were also included as such in the basic treaty document.

Given this general euphoria, I would warn people against wanting to get everything done in one fell swoop, however. These things cannot just be swept off the table with one's left hand. There are some matters at issue here which have to be cleared up first--with the Allies for example. After all, there are a number of major treaties involved--such as the Berlin agreement and questions regarding the status of Berlin in the case of contacts between the People's Chamber and the Bundestag, for instance. One cannot simply reduce that to an everyday demand and say it can be checked off on the list.

[Question] Did we understand you correctly as saying that the government is allowing things to get moving in this area?

[Answer] Let me quote Mr Honecker. He once said that there were some things that could not be done. I agree. But wherever something can be done, we are doing it.

[Question] With regard to status issues--what can actually be done?

[Answer] Only negotiations can tell. I do not think the SPD is acting in a responsible manner at this time by giving up positions which it upheld for years jointly with us without giving prior thought to the possibility that we could and indeed should expect some concessions from the other side in exchange.

Consider, if you will, the issue of contacts between the People's Chamber and the German Bundestag. We know that the status of the West Berlin deputies would be directly affected and similarly, the status of the popularly elected deputies from East Berlin. An issue like that cannot simply be dealt with from the rostrum of the German Bundestag; it first has to be discussed with the Allies. For another thing, one really has to think things through to see whether any movement on this issue is possible at all.

[Question] Prior to the establishment of such contacts, the FRG government could reach agreement with the GDR to the effect that the reservations with regard to the deputies from East Berlin and West Berlin will remain intact. That is also the way it was done in the citizenship issue. Why should these two states not have the same contacts at this level that they have with the parliaments of other countries ?

[Answer] You are getting ahead of possible future results; but it has not been worked out as yet.

[Question] In other words, you think it is conceivable that it will be agreed upon ?

[Answer] There certainly are things that were taboo once which do not simply have to remain taboo. If they lead to developments which in turn result in improvements, I would not rule it out.

[Question] Is the heretofore unresolved issue of the German-German border on the Elbe another one of these taboos ?

[Answer] We are still looking into that. The FRG government is still in the process (jointly with the government of Lower Saxony) of determining exactly how the border was originally drawn. All we can say at the moment is that it has not yet been cleared up sufficiently. If we do come up with clear findings, we will also be able to work out an arrangement, of course.

[Question] How ?

[Answer] The documentary evidence is so complicated and difficult that it will indeed take some time to sift through it. In addition, we will certainly have to discuss the issue with the Allies one more time. Perhaps we will have to speak to the British once more to see whether they have any additional documents that can tell us how the frontier was drawn. What we have on hand at present seems to indicate that the frontier runs along the northeastern bank but before casting this finding in concrete, one should have all the material in hand and should have it all sifted and only then make a firm decision.

[Question] That is a new position for the CDU/CSU to take. When you were in the opposition, it was bruited about that you would appeal to the constitutional court, if the agreement reached by the German-German border commission in 1975 were to become reality.

[Answer] As the opposition we certainly took our position on the basis of the material available to us at the time. Now we are running the government and now we are dealing with the facts as we were given them when we took over from Chancellor Schmidt.

[Question] How soon will the review be completed ? By the time of the Honecker visit in the latter part of this year ?

[Answer] As for me, I would like to get it done as soon as possible; but we are not tying the review to a possible visit by Chairman Honecker.

[Question] What do you mean by 'as soon as possible'?

[Answer] We have an obligation to get it done. The fact is that the Schmidt government made a promise to the GDR that this review would speedily be done. That promise was made several years ago. In my view, the matter should be completed. Perhaps a modus vivendi can be reached.

[Question] During the course of this year ?

[Answer] Yes. I would hope so.

[Question] What do you have to say to the GDR demand for the dissolution of the Salzgitter Central Registry of Acts of Violence along the Inner-German Border ? That agency could be viewed as interfering in the internal affairs of the GDR.

[Answer] First of all, the Salzgitter registry is an agency set up by the Laender. The federal government has no jurisdiction over it. It was established by the Laender in 1961.

[Question] But the federal government participates in it.

[Answer] Yes; but its contribution is minimal. Just the same, it is an issue for the Laender. That central registry can close up shop very fast, if the GDR creates the proper conditions for it. But since the official order to shoot is still in effect...

[Question] Honecker says that no such order exists. He gave Helmut Schmidt to understand that there is an order to the border troops telling them to make as little use of their weapons as possible. The fact is that almost no shots have been fired along the border for a few months now.

[Answer] That is correct.

[Question] If things remain the way they are, will the registry close down ?

[Answer] If there is no further information coming in, the registry will dissolve itself, as it were. But as of now at least I do not think that point has been reached. It is not just the order to shoot; there are other things, such as the automatic firing devices. There was an announcement that they will be dismantled but so far not all of them have been. The moment there is no further need for the Salzgitter operation, I will be the first person to say: do away with it.

[Question] Do the minefields have to be cleared first, too ?

[Answer] Of course I would expect that to be done; nonetheless, some distinctions have to be made. Wherever there are troop barracks or special military installations the GDR will of course retain the right to protect them. We will have to have some understanding on this to some extent. But as for mines along the inner-German border, they are just as much a violation of human rights as these automatic firing devices.

[Question] In other words, the Salzgitter operation cannot be shut down in the foreseeable future ?

[Answer] Let me repeat that it need not take such a very long time. It depends on the GDR. One cannot set a time limit. Once all these things are removed, we will be the first to shut the operation down.

[Question] Erich Honecker has said that he will not visit the FRG under some sort of special legal arrangement—a kind of safe conduct permit—which will protect him from some lower court judge or prosecutor gone berserk. Will the Judicature Act be changed to guarantee general immunity to official visitors ?

[Answer] We do not intend to pass a special Honecker law; but there is a general need for something along these lines. And that might include this particular situation along with the rest. We do want to grant immunity by law to all guests of the federal government. That is our intention; but as I said, not specifically tailored to the Honecker visit.

[Question] When will that be ?

[Answer] The preparations have been under way for some time. I hope we will get it worked out in the next few months—probably before the summer recess.

[Question] Since the first of the year, Honecker has been allowing a lot of people who want to leave go to the FRG. When do you think the point will come when he has to apply the brakes ? And what effect would that have on the present good state of relations ?

[Answer] I really do not know the answer to these questions because I have no accurate way of determining the intentions of the other side or indeed the numbers with which they are operating. On the one hand, I can merely rejoice over the fact that so many people are getting together—thanks to our efforts and, let me say it once again, in connection with the credit package. On the other hand, I am concerned about the fact that the government there is not paying enough heed to the massive pressure inside the GDR in favor of simply taking a trip to the West some time. In addition to the reunification of families, I would like to see more such opportunities to travel. There are cases after all where people do not really wish to leave the GDR but simply want to visit their relatives in the West. But the only real chance they were given was to apply for resettlement.

[Question] In other words, you would prefer to have the normal process of family reunification continue but in addition to that more travel opportunities even at the risk that a few people decide to stay here.

[Answer] We are happy about everyone who is permitted to come over. But it must not be a goal of our policy to depopulate the GDR. Experience over the years has shown that visits on urgent family matters have not necessarily led to people taking advantage of the opportunity to stay here. The percentage of those who did is very small. People have their home, their job and their family over there and they want to go back. In my view, it is important to build on these opportunities.

[Question] What is East Berlin's reaction to suggestions of this sort ?

[Answer] That is a very sensitive area. I ask for your understanding for not publicly speculating on these questions. What I am interested in is to get people together as much as possible. That can be done on a number of levels—such as youth tourism or city partnerships for example. People want to travel; they want to be able to move; they feel cooped up over there.

[Question] What steps could you think of to gather more experience and to rid the regime over there of the fear of refugees ?

[Answer] I am open to all suggestions. In our discussions with the other side we must not always think we have to score points every time and always have it our own way. And, we must not overtax the other side. But in all those areas where we might awaken some new ideas in order to get the problems that affect the two sides on the right track, I am very flexible and open to suggestions. Whatever can be done in this field we are happy to do. We can make a whole array of suggestions; but I do not wish to be tied down on this. In my view, there are a lot of things that can be done.

[Question] Perhaps we should come up with another confidence-building credit package. If you are looking for more trust—when do you think the next billion is due ?

[Answer] I cannot answer that question for you because the other side has not come to us with such a request. There is no point in speculating on it therefore. I do not know whether the other side is interested in anything of the sort. For the moment I do not see a need—given the way the economy, inner-German trade and the GDR's debt situation is developing.

[Question] But it is not Erich Honecker alone who decides how much travel to the West is allowed. Does the GDR have more latitude vis-a-vis Moscow than before ?

[Answer] We are under the impression that this has been so for some time. I myself took part in Chancellor Kohl's meeting with Honecker and got the impression that Honecker is very much in charge over there.

[Question] Mr Minister, we wish to thank you for this interview.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PRE-ELECTION RATIONALE, TACTICS, GOALS OUTLINED

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 39 No 5, Mar 84 (signed to press 23 Feb 84)
pp 163-168

[Article by Klaus Sorgenicht, head of the State and Legal Questions Department of the SED Central Committee: "Communists Approaching Elections to Local Representative Bodies"]

[Text] "Especially in the current situation it has become ever more of a focal point for our party's efforts to strengthen the GDR in every way and successfully implement the tenth party congress resolutions on the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. Political stability, economic dynamism, and carrying on our unified economic and social policies for the good of the people are of crucial importance to our contributing to the safeguarding of peace."

A High Point in the 35th Year of the GDR

Those words of Erich Honecker's at the seventh SED Central Committee session provide the starting point for the new and great tasks tackled after the conclusion of the party elections with a view to 6 May 1984. The kreis assemblies, the city-Kreis assemblies and the community representations are a social high point in the 35th year after the founding of the GDR. The election appeal issued by the National Council of the National Front affirms: A dedication with all our strength to carrying on the good and successful policy of the 10th SED Congress remains the electorate mission placed on the candidates of the National Front of the GDR.

Citizens entitled to vote confirm by their vote their bonds with the socialist state and their irrevocable trust in party and government policy. Once again, in the outcome of the vote the firm unity between party, state and people will be manifest.

The resolutions of the seventh Central Committee session, especially the guideline speech from the general secretary of the SED Central Committee, Comrade Erich Honecker, the joint appeal for the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, and the election appeal from the National Council of the National Front of the GDR form the basis for our election preparations.

Personal Talks With Voters

A heightened party leadership role, the deepening in the working class alliance with the class of the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working strata, and the confident collaboration among the parties and mass organizations in the National Front determine the political character of our election preparations. They are of crucial importance for the authority and functional capability of our socialist state power in the 1980's and thus for our continued stable and dynamic advances. The local people's representations to be elected for another 5 years, after all, bear a growing responsibility for the continued implementation of the current five-year plan, their activity ranging far into the period of the next 5-year plan.

An essential concern of each party organization is to ensure a high level of political mass activity and encourage the working people's initiatives in socialist competition in every way. Through well coordinated and differentiated political-ideological work, personal talks with the voters in all strata must be conducted in such a way that all questions and problems affecting the lives of the citizens are settled totally and cogently.

Explaining Socialism's Peace Strategy to Everyone

We must explain socialism's peace strategy and unmask the confrontation and arms buildup policy of the Reagan administration and its allies as the cause for the aggravation of the international situation. This hardens the basic conviction of all citizens that peace is inherent in socialism. This will encourage the political posture and conscious deeds of the working people on behalf of the strengthening and protection of our fatherland.

In confident dialogue we shall indoctrinate the people with the values and accomplishments of socialism, the best cause in the world, and thereby always proceed from the fundamental political questions and organically combine overall state with communal policy tasks. We mainly want to make the voters vividly aware of the fine balance sheet for the 35th year of the GDR, which includes the accomplishments of the legislative period since 1979, by reminding them of the development of their own town, their own village, their own enterprise and their family.

Many differentiated events will highlight the relevance of political mass activity. Our party pays special attention to the meetings between candidates of the National Front and the 800,000 new voters and 1.1 million young voters. It will ignore nothing in supporting the activities of the local and residential area commissions of the National Front by means of a requisite number of election assistants.

Analyzing the kreis and bezirk delegates conferences is especially worthwhile for the comrades' political work in their enterprises and residential areas. When the membership meetings in March issue the tasks for the communal elections, they will familiarize all comrades with the political content and the goals of the election and assign them concrete party missions. The basic organizations in the Hennigsdorf steel and rolling mill take that to mean concrete party missions on getting involved with the party activists groups and the residential district committees of the six sponsorship residential districts of the enterprises in town, as agitators in their own residential areas and houses of comrades, and as election assistants in the National Front.

Every Comrade an Election Assistant in His Residential Area

The membership meetings discuss the effectiveness of comrades who have been working as deputies or lay judges or members of arbitration commissions and confer on their continued candidacy. Between the end of March and the beginning of April, in the residential areas of towns and communities total membership meetings or party activists conferences are held to involve all comrades, if possible, in indoctrinating the voters or as election assistants.

Housing area party organization 80 in Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg, e.g., uses its fine experiences for it that were gained through the political mass activity in its urban redevelopment. It has managed to draw the citizens into this project through regular political discussions. To every house and every staircase comrades were assigned, others were put in charge of several houses en bloc. Through concrete collaboration among the housing area party organization, the residential district committee, the social construction activists group, the municipal housing administration, the sector agent and the construction chief, the citizens received well timed information on the progress of construction and measures that were necessary. The housing area party organization assisted the residential district committee in forming functional housing community leaderships in reconstructed houses. In preparation for the elections, the party activists will mobilize all comrades in the housing area for working as election assistants and, above all, for conducting political discussions every day in their own apartment buildings.

A Matter of Honor: Going to Vote With a Plan Fulfilled

The party organizations in the enterprises, cooperatives and facilities are resolutely and purposefully taking further steps in implementing the economic strategy as laid down in the campaign programs. Above all they encourage implementing the tasks in socialist competition under the slogan, "High performance growth through increased labor productivity, efficiency and quality--all for the good of the people and for peace!" The enterprise collectives will do what they can to fulfill the national economic plan in every way and proportionately and surpass it in a targeted manner on the occasion of 1 May and the communal elections. That is of crucial importance for strengthening our workers and farmers power and for the safeguarding of peace.

The comrades in Ruegen Kreis, e.g., proceeding from the commitment the enterprise collective assumed to surpass the 1984 economic plan, want to make sure for the competition phase up to 1 May that in proportion to the annual plan 40 percent of industrial commodity production and 32.4 percent of construction output will by then have been accomplished. The comrades also plan to complete 217 apartments, modernizing 60 of them, by the communal elections.

The local state organs likewise are going to intensify their activities in order conscientiously to fulfill their planning tasks and fully exhaust all reserves in their given territory for the performance and efficiency development in the enterprises and cooperatives and the securing and gradual improving of the working and living conditions and for a sound community policy. Especially, they are going to make a purposeful use of the greater possibilities for territorial rationalization, in improving the communal economic performance, ensuring self-supply in produce and fruit, and still more effectively promoting the private farming of cooperative farmers and the members of the Association of Allotment Gardeners and Small Livestock Breeders and of other small producers.

In line with the National Front election appeal, the citizens initiative, "More beautiful towns and communities--join-in!" is aimed at the implementation of the housing construction program in its unity of new construction, reconstruction, modernization and maintenance. Each town, each community, each borough, each house is supposed to get a nicer facade.

The Deputies Have a Fine Balance Sheet to Show for

In implementation of their constitutionally guaranteed basic right to participating in government, our republic's citizens elect their people's representations--those local power organs that are closely tied in with men's daily rhythm of life and their relations to their work, their home, their educational opportunities and recreational conditions, their everyday care and supplies, in other words, their communal affairs. The deputies chosen 5 years ago, the members of the local councils and permanent commissions, are now giving a public account on the outcome of their efforts. They have done great work and can present a fine balance-sheet to the voters in every community, every town, every kreis. The results are perceptible to everyone and have greatly affected working and living conditions because they are inseparable from our policy which is aimed at the good of the people. Any voter will be able to observe that with pride; ultimately, everyone has a concrete share in it.

Voting and the chance to be elected are, as one knows, among the inviolable components of our socialist democracy. In the legislative period coming to an end, the local people's representations with their over 200,000 deputies and candidates of succession have done extensive and valuable work in serving their electorate and the entire people. The ties between the voters and the elected have become closer.

Careful Candidate Selection

In the next legislative period up to 1989 the local people's representations will have to cope with much greater tasks. For the legally established number of seats 260,000 candidates of the National Front are competing. What will continue to matter a lot is the people's representations' contribution to the fulfilment of the main task with its unified economic and social policies. There is hardly a domain in our economy or all our public life that is not affected by what they do. On the contrary, what they do increasingly affects our performance growth and the working people's working and living conditions. So one will have to expect still much more of their vital strength and creative efforts.

Logically, all party organizations derive from it a higher responsibility for the efficacy of the people's representations and their organs and for increasing the deputies' authority. This is not just a matter of party organizations in the state apparatus and of party groups of people's representations and their councils. It also pertains to the quality in the selection of those party candidates who stand out as socialist personalities through great work achievements, a wealth of ideas and creativeness, enjoy great trust in their work collective and residential area, and do outstanding public work. These candidates will be in the position to have a mobilizing effect through their sense of responsibility and their dedication and to work closely, confidently and patiently with the people and react properly to their suggestions, recommendations and criticism.

Conscientious Testing in the Work Collective

In the Karl Marx Stadt services combine--with its seat in Werdau--the deputies working there are actively involved in the socialist competition, themselves assume commitments and aid the working people in meeting their obligations. The enterprise and technical managers appoint expert deputies to permanent or temporary working teams busy solving important operational problems. In the work collectives, a regular rendering of accounts by the people's deputies is assured. They are taking an active part in the full shop stewards meetings, plan debates and enterprise conferences. They are concerned with the working people's working and living conditions. Through the deputies one gets good cooperation from the National Front commissions and an ever broader participation of enterprise members in the residential areas. The basic organizations foster all these forms of socialist cooperation and aggressive political mass activity.

The testing of candidates in the working people's collectives in which they are engaged, scheduled for the end of February, till the end of March, will therefore be conducted with the proper political care and prepared with the requisite political emphasis. This public testing by the working people is, after all, a useful and indispensable component of our socialist democracy.

Socialist communal policy is inseparable from the role and performance of the mayors, who closely work together with the citizens and their deputies. On their being well selected our party thus places also great importance.

Finally, the SED sees to it that a relevant and civic working style prevails in the state organs. That calls for informing the population still much more extensively on important problems that are decided in the people's representations and their organs, reinforcing the consultation with the citizens and the public organizations on decisions to be anticipated, and ensuring still closer contacts with all citizens in towns and communities, down to the boroughs. It has been found useful to assign to the state functionaries clearly delineated spheres of activity for their collaboration with the citizens, housing communities, and residential area and local commissions of the National Front.

Diversified Political Mass Activity

We are even more now in favor of diversified and interesting political mass activity through election district activists groups, regular residents' meetings, the citizens' attending the conferences of the people's representations, city hall and family conversations, public council sessions, local and residential area inspections, office hours to be held by mayors, meetings among deputies and other forms of civic activities.

Our party expects all state organs conscientiously to process citizens' petitions in conformity with laws in effect. All inquiries, suggestions and criticism sent to the state organs have to be responded to. All justified concerns have to be settled with support from the working people as economic opportunities permit. Bureaucratic procedures must be resolutely opposed.

The executive party organs will properly pay great attention to the local state organs' initiative for our republic's 35th anniversary. The Fehrbellin municipal assembly and the Wittgensdorf communal representation before the State Council reported on their experiences in supporting farm production and public life that can also be used by other communities and towns in terms of their own conditions. An example, worth emulating, of 35th anniversary initiatives came from the Karl Marx Stadt municipal assembly and council, in a letter to Erich Honecker. No less worthy has been the LPG initiative of the "Am Greifenstein" cooperative and the communities there in Zschopau Kreis for increasing yields and prettier villages housing the cooperative farmers and all inhabitants.

Enforcing Socialist Legality

While we are getting set for the elections, the commissions and people's control commissions for the Workers and Farmers Inspectorate are being newly elected in enterprises, cooperatives, towns and communities. That is done in the regularly held meetings. The local people's representations elections also are tied up with the election of kreis court directors, judges and lay judges and of the members of the arbitration commissions. The reception of status reports from the citizens who held these functions up to now and the discussion of new election propositions offer the election meetings a fine opportunity to take a position on the further enforcing of socialist legality and the ensuring of order and safety in all sectors of public life.

A new busy and interesting stretch of activity by the party, in alliance with all other political forces in our country, is ahead of us. Our aim is to turn the communal elections into an overwhelming allegiance by the citizens to socialism and peace, to the further successful implementation of the SED's 10th congress resolutions, and to the all-round strengthening of the workers and farmers power. Such an avowal also demonstrates our country's irrevocable fraternal ties with the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community.

Firm Unity Between Party and People

The more convincingly the tasks ahead are explained and the more thoroughly they are understood, the better we can involve all working people and find success in fulfilling what we have decided on. A key to it is a working style that is relevant to life and are comradely relations between the party members and the citizens, which bring out clearly what it is that moves them. The SED always attaches the greatest importance to that. Trust in party and government policy and the firm unity between party and people are furthered by that. As a source of our strength, that is decisive.

5885
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

RESTRICTIONS ON OWN CITIZENS' TOURIST TRAFFIC OUTLINED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 38 No 15, 9 Apr 84 pp 83, 86, 88-89

[Article: "The Man From the State Security Service is Always There--Where GDR Citizens are Allowed to Take Vacations Outside Their Country"]

[Text] The man behind the counter lowers his voice. "Yugoslavia?" he whispers after glancing at a small stamped piece of paper the lady is showing him. "Pay attention," he states, still in such a low voice that none of the persons nearby can understand anything; "go to window 10 and stand in line there."

He carefully checks the piece of paper against a list in front of him. "You have number 16," he continues in his conspiratorial tone; "that means you'll be 16th in line. You understand? I'll see you later at passport control."

Having been dismissed, the lady obediently looks for her place in the long line in front of window 10. Discipline is something a GDR citizen must also observe when embarking on a vacation.

Scenes like this occur at Schoenefeld Airport in East Berlin every Monday between 0930 and 1000 hours during the summer months. Reporting on the second floor of the main building, the departure complex, are those customers of the state-owned GDR Travel Bureau who are the fortunate owners of a "participant's document" and therefore may look forward to an organized trip abroad.

Behind the counter stand the male and female trip directors, recognizable by placards in front of them showing the destinations--Moscow, Budapest, Sofia, Kiev. Only the man at the end, at window 10, has no placard in front of him. It has been "forgotten" for good reasons: GDR citizens traveling to fraternal socialist countries are not supposed to find out that those privileged to fly to Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, are processed there.

Yugoslavia is among those travel destinations which are accessible to a few chosen people. No more than 1,000 places a year are offered, 400 for bus tours through Slovenia and 600 for stays on the Adriatic Sea. Despite the high prices, from 3,000 to 5,000 GDR marks (the average monthly income is about M 1,000), the rush is enormous.

The semisocialist places on the Mediterranean are in such demand that many GDR citizens would even be prepared to pay a secret premium. But neither money nor contacts, which otherwise make anything possible in the GDR, are of any use in this case.

Long-distance vacations in fraternal socialist countries (capitalist vacation parades are closed even to high-ranking comrades with meritorious service) have long been as much of a status symbol in the GDR as a VW Rabbit or Volvo in one's garage. However, a trip to Cuba (3 weeks for M 6,800) or to Vietnam (3 weeks for M 7,200) is more difficult to obtain than the first prize in the Lotto number-guessing game in the Federal Republic. These dream trips are issued exclusively via the ministries or professional associations and only to persons who have been checked for their loyalty to the system by the Ministry for State Security.

For example, a physician has to apply to the bezirk physician responsible who passes the application to Berlin, or write direct to the ministry of health, if he would like to take a vacation on the Adriatic with his wife. Children are excluded in any case.

They have to stay behind in the GDR as pawns because trips to Yugoslavia (open borders to Austria and Italy), to Cuba (flight with stop in Gander, Canada) or to Vietnam (stopover in Karachi, Pakistan) could tempt the traveler to escape.

Particularly members of the GDR Journalists Union or the League of Graphic Artists have a good chance to land one of the expensive touristic delicacies. They are given preferential treatment in order that the intellectual elite of the nation may be kept in a good mood. Teachers or white collar workers, let alone blue-collar workers, on the other hand, hardly have a chance at all. Occasionally two or three "meritorious workers" may come along, having received the long-distance trip as a special reward.

To complete the list, several political functionaries, employees of the state apparatus and party veterans are added to the upperclass vacationers. And of course there is always also a "tourist" from STASI [State Security Service], generally camouflaged as a trustworthy, chummy individual traveler. Or the tour director himself doubles as watchdog.

In any case, the latter has to write a report for the security people after the trip, commenting on every participant. If one has behaved well and represented the GDR worthily, one may hope after 2 or 3 years again to be included in the category of priority travelers and to get the requisite signature from the work brigade leader, department head, works director, combine director and finally the minister in charge.

If one is not among the favored few, one can book air, ship, train or bus trips to fraternal socialist countries with the VEB Travel Bureau. In addition to the Soviet Union, the list includes Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, the CSSR and now also Poland again.

Trips to Poland not requiring an exit visa, instituted in 1972 and particularly well-liked by individual tourists, were stopped by the GDR after the start of troubles in 1980. Since spring 1983, selected factory collectives have been traveling to the neighboring country again.

The nonvisa trips to Czechoslovakia too were curtailed by the GDR authorities after too many GDR citizens had used the CSSR capital for a rendezvous with FRG relatives or had gone so far as to make off for the West via Prague.

There are obstacles for the average consumer as well. He is not allowed to change more than 40 GDR marks per person per day into the currency of the country, which is not enough in view of the constantly rising hotel and restaurant prices in the CSSR and of gasoline prices of 4 marks for a liter of premium gas.

Similar barriers exist as far as Hungary is concerned, a country too liberal by GDR standards. Private trips to Budapest or the Balaton Lake are possible only with an exit visa--called "travel supplement" [Reiseanlage] in the GDR--but generally are impossible anyway because of the lack of foreign currency on the part of GDR citizens.

Thus generally only the organized tour remains. For a 22-day seaside vacation on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast (Program No 002 of the travel information booklet for Summer/Fall 1983), one has to fork over M 2,300--to include air fare, room and full board. Bathing on the Soviet Black Sea coast is a little cheaper.

Also prestigious is a plane trip to the Mongolian People's Republic (M 3,800 for 14 days) or to North Korea (M 4,200 for 3 weeks). There are no security checks since these countries exercise even greater surveillance than the GDR.

Such trips are rare, though. Only 4 groups of 30 persons each may go to Korea per year, only 300 citizens to Mongolia.

Hence the long wait in Schoenefeld. For 3 years now every request for a trip abroad has to be entered on so-called reservation cards at the Travel Bureau. The cards are available at the branches for just 14 days twice a year.

About 8 weeks after the cards have been handed in, the customer is notified as to whether he has been so fortunate as to attain his first choice travel destination or an alternate one. Then he can conclude a travel contract. He has to pay 100 marks on account, the rest being due when he picks up the travel documents, about 10 days before departure.

If nothing has worked out in the wide world of communism, there still remains the nearby Soviet Union. Trips to Big Brother are offered in comparatively large numbers and therefore can be obtained more easily. Moreover they are comparatively cheap. The following is offered, for example.

--"Brief city trips"--for instance, Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk or Riga, as well as combinations, at a price of about 1,000 marks for 8 days, including airfare.

--"Festival trips"--for example "Spring in Kiev" for 660 marks for 6 days by air/train, or the "White Nights of Leningrad" for 6 days, by plane, for 930 marks.

--"Multi-city trips, Asia and Siberia," 15 days to Moscow, Alma-Ata, Frunze, Tashkent and so on for 2,230 marks including flights.

Because in the Soviet Union as well the prices of flights have climbed steeply in the past few years, there are now more train trips in so-called friendship trains to the "homeland of all working people." This kind of tourism can hardly appeal to individual travelers for the intelligentsia with a good income is not likely to be attracted by an uninterrupted 48-hour trip with accommodations in four-bed compartments.

The special trains are therefore being chartered to an increasing extent by large companies and combines. Participants are assigned by the works or party leadership or by the socialist youth league. They do not even have to sacrifice any leave days for the 10-day train marathon which is organized for the sake of "consolidating the fraternal alliance."

Applying for individual trips is more complicated. If for instance someone who wants to pay a private visit to an old friend in Soviet Tbilisi, has to be prepared for a long war with the authorities. The GDR citizen wanting to travel first sends a letter to his host in Tbilisi telling him that he wants to visit him, including the exact dates--if possible right away in Russian to spare his friend the cost of a certified translation.

The Russian friend takes this letter to the department for alien affairs of the militia authorities in Tbilisi. There the letter is logged, and a file is started. Then the applicant does not hear anything for a long time. During the following 3 or 4 weeks, the Soviet security service goes into action, investigating whether the citizen applying is worthy of privately accommodating a guest from the fraternal GDR.

If there are no security objections, a certification is issued for the guest from the GDR, which the latter has to submit to his local People's Police station. Only then can he make application for receiving a "travel supplement to the ID card."

He generally gets the document within 3 weeks--unless the GDR STASI on its part voices misgivings about the trip to Tbilisi. This whole bureaucratic procedure may last as long as 3 months. But GDR tourists have long since learned to be patient.

Patience is also needed by young people who want to fill a vacancy for a vacation abroad and make application at the Jugendtourist Travel Bureau. Citizens up to the age of 30 are considered "young." They have to belong to

the FDJ youth organization and be "socially active." And of course, in line with the tested scheme of democratic centralism, their applications have to be approved up the line.

If one has behaved properly, is doing good work in the plant or in school, is loyally dedicated to official policy and above all has no contacts with the West, one may perhaps even be allowed to take a trip to so-called NSW (GDR abbreviation for nonsocialist economic territory) countries. Available, among others, are Austria, France, Italy and even India and Mexico.

Despite the longing for travel--something as familiar to young people in the GDR as to their West German peers--many young citizens would not take such a trip a second time. "They all watch each other," complained a young East Berlin journalist after a tour through Austria. "For instance, if one shows amazement at the fully stocked stores in front of fellow travelers and compares that with the meager supplies in the GDR, one has to expect to get reprimanded by the trip director in front of the travel collective. That spoils one's whole vacation."

The trip director's reaction is not surprising. They often are STASI spies, but in any case are meritorious SED members recommended by the plants or the administration for their volunteer's job.

Loyalty to the party line, however, does not automatically qualify one for the job, which if nothing else guarantees gratis trips. "Hardly any of them have been abroad before or speak a foreign language," complains an employee of the Erfurt Travel Bureau, "and this leads to protests by travelers."

But the ordinary worker cannot go on such trips abroad anyway. At best he can go on vacation in his own country. Fritz Roesel, in his capacity of secretary of the Labor Union Federation Executive responsible for organizing workers' vacations, proudly declared in the GDR journal WOCHENPOST that since 1983 "4.64 million FDGB members and their families" have gone "to vacation homes of the union or their enterprise."

At the same time, however, he exhorted, raising the ideological index finger: "It is a responsible political task properly to distribute all the union vacation potential and to utilize it throughout the year so that no trip is lost. As before, it continues to be necessary to distribute trips with a sense of political responsibility."

8790
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NOTED EMIGRANT AUTHOR CITES HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 30 Mar 84 pp 45-46

[Article by Hans Joachim Schaedlich, novelist: "I Am Not in Exile--In the Name of Peace, the Warsaw Pact Marches Into Prague and Authors Are Ordered To Shut Up"]

[Text] Novelist Hans Joachim Schaedlich rates as one of the most important authors to have emigrated from the GDR. Said Guenter Grass about the novel "Versuchte Naehe" [Attempted Closeness]: "Since Uwe Johnson's first book, GDR realities have not been accepted for what they are and transformed on a literary level as impressively as here." His essay deals critically with the by now customary East-West meetings of German writers and thereby sends a signal, 2 days before the start of the people's solidarity congress in Saarbruecken. Everywhere--be it at the recent Ammersee meeting of "only Western" authors or 2 weeks ago when pupils met with former GDR and FRG authors in Marburg--the basic question was: "Alien in one's homecountry."

When Montesquieu had his "L'Esprit des Lois" anonymously published in 1748, despotism was defined as a form of government where, according to Montesquieu, "one man by himself arranges everything without rule or law according to his own will and caprice." From that we are far removed now under totalitarian systems. They, in contrast to the lawlessness of old despotisms, are marked by having laws that violate human rights legally, as it were.

In the GDR, e.g., these are laws that permit the violation of internationally recognized human rights principles. Amnesty International in a report of September 1983, about the "constraint on freedom of thought in the GDR," has presented that state of affairs reliably.

Rather as an aside, I am referring to Article 213 in the GDR Penal Code, entitled "Illegal Border Crossing," which says; e.g.: "Someone who leaves or does not return to the territory of the GDR without official permission, incurs a prison sentence of . . ."

That article violates Article 12 of the "International Pact on Civic and Political Rights" the GDR ratified on 8 November 1973. That article ensures the right to leaving a country.

For professional reasons, I mention in somewhat greater detail articles 99, 100, 196, 214 (1), 219 and 220 of the GDR Penal Code. They directly curtail the right to the freedom of expression and violate Article 19 of the "International Pact."

A GDR citizen of Dresden who had several times applied in vain for an emigration permit and written an article about that in MENSCHENRECHTE (the publication of the International Human Rights Society) was sentenced to 3 years in prison in 1979 on grounds of "treasonably transmitting information," according to Article 99.

A GDR citizen who had written to Amnesty International and other places because her husband had been imprisoned was sentenced to 2 3/4 years in prison, in accordance with Article 100, on grounds of "treasonable agent's activity."

A GDR citizen who had recorded songs by Wolf Biermann and passed these recordings on to friends got a 2-year prison sentence in 1980 for "anti-state agitation," in conformity with Article 106.

For his correspondence with an FRG citizen over his desire to emigrate, a GDR citizen in 1980 was sentenced for 2 1/2 years in prison on grounds of "illegally establishing contacts," as to Article 219.

On 28 June 1979, the GDR People's Chamber without debate passed the third criminal law amendment, notoriously expanding Article 219 of the Penal Code on "illegally establishing contacts," obviously to deter authors tending to make contacts with news agencies, newspaper editorial boards and publishing houses outside the GDR.

The expansion reads:

"Punished also are

1. any GDR citizen who disseminates abroad or who permits to be disseminated abroad information apt to hurt the interests of the GDR, while circumventing legal regulations, to organizations, institutions or persons abroad."
2. anyone who submits or has submitted writings, manuscripts or other materials apt to hurt the interests of the GDR, while circumventing legal regulations, to organizations, institutions or persons abroad."

The legal regulations referred to stipulate that publications abroad, which includes the FRG, require registration with the copyright office. Authors receiving honorariums for books published abroad but not authorized by the copyright office, may receive monetary fines in line with the foreign currency law or even be imprisoned.

That GDR authors infringing the foreign currency laws have received monetary fines up to M 10,000 is known.

A couple in the GDR, publicly expressing its wish to emigrate on 2 December 1977, was arrested and sentenced to 1 1/2 years in prison on grounds of "interfering with official or social activity"--i.e. by showing a "contempt for the laws in a manner jeopardizing public order," as of Article 214 (1).

A GDR citizen who, in connection with his exit application, in letters and post-cards addressed the GDR minister of the interior and People's Chamber deputies with reference to GDR laws and the "International Pact," was sentenced to 2 years in prison in 1978, in accordance with Article 220, on grounds of "public disparagement."

The explanation: The disparaging impression had been aroused that GDR state organs did not abide by the laws and international agreements.

What constraints to the freedom of expression GDR authors are subjected to in principle who are in the FRG on a visa, is revealed by Paragraph 4 of Article 20, "public disparagement," which threatens with prison terms up to 5 years, probationary sentences or monetary fines whoever as a GDR citizen commits his deed abroad.

Despite the direct curbs on the right of freedom of expression by means of criminal laws, GDR authorities have no trouble having its deputies to the UN Human Rights Commission, of which the GDR has now become a member, say it is the task of all peoples to "fight against the flagrant human rights violations." So it happened on 8 February 1984 in Geneva.

I was publicly indicted in the GDR of "anti-state agitation" and "public disparagement" and thus forced to request voluntarily being released from my citizenship in 1977 for texts published in the FRG unauthorized.

I could finally leave--like some other authors. Others had to go to prison before they had to leave or could leave. Others again have to be in prison without being allowed to leave.

Had I been asked whether I pleaded guilty, my answer would have been "not guilty," as in the movies, because I consider the laws that constrain the freedom of expression illegal. And that precisely would make me guilty.

So have I been chased out for good reason? This is my answer: I have every good reason to feel relief for having been spared imprisonment and having in time been released from the citizenship of a state that directly curbs the most important professional condition for being an author--the right to the freedom of expression--by its laws and normally punishes any violations of those laws.

Many recent debates were governed by the question what the connection between civil rights and peace is or ought to be. If there had truly been a question whether Manes Sperber was allowed to say what he thought, he would all the more urgently have to be referred to as an authority.

I shall quote four--slightly abridged--sentences in Sperber's speech, "Living in the Century of the World Wars":

First: "I am against all war, without exception. Yet I know, and also knew it in the decade of the Third Reich, that a totalitarian regime feels it is in jeopardy as long as it does not spread its power over its immediate and less immediate neighbors--and one day over the whole planet."

Second: "And now we have lived for decades in the era of pseudo-ideological extortioners. Yet everyone ought to know that extortioners ask all the more and become all the more menacing, the more often one appeases them."

Third: "That evidently is due to the nature of totalitarianism, this compulsion to subject the entire world--all by means of ideological trimmings that have, to be sure, lost their publicity value over the years but can now most effectively be backed up by threatening nuclear weapons."

And finally: "Anyone who advocates capitulating to that menacing empire that has turned several European states into satellites since World War II is in error and leads others into error."

That much for Manes Sperber.

Already as pupils we would be motivated by the word peace for anything the leadership deemed desirable. And we believed in its motivating validity. When a pupil was not in the mood, for instance, to dig potatoes late in fall on the fields of the "Neues Leben" [New Life] LPG (agricultural producer cooperative), overtaxed by the new mode of production, or when he had no ambition to take it in hand while standing up and improve his marksmanship with the small caliber rifle KK-22, he would be admonished to get into the mood and show eagerness by being told: "Aren't you also for peace, or are you not?"

In the name of peace the Warsaw Pact troops march into the CSSR. In the name of peace authors are told to shut up. In the name of peace even members of an independent peace movement who object to the peace flourish of Soviet nuclear weapons are put away, and so forth.

The writers have to play a special role in providing ideological trimmings in totalitarian states. Some want to do it, too. What could be closer to the GDR than West Berlin and the FRG. Now and then authors are dispatched to the West for a big palaver on world peace. While in its own state the independent peace movement is suppressed and its own defense ministry circulates ridiculous military fantasies, some dispatched GDR authors seek to have an influence on the FRG public to agitate on behalf of Soviet security policy or--to quote Manes Sperber--for "capitulating to that menacing empire that has turned several European states into satellites since World War II."

Is it astonishing then that some authors who used to live in the GDR ultimately show no inclination to sit at one table with the deputies of the GDR Writers Association at the Second Berlin Encounter? That is an association, after all, that has relentlessly excluded critical authors.

A strange experience for the ones excluded to find their former association chiefs eagerly sit together with critical FRG authors for the sake of world peace.

Suffice it to know that the incumbent president of the association said about an author who was forced to leave the GDR--and this at the Eighth GDR Writers Congress--: "Kommt Zeit, vergeht Unrat" [a nasty pun hinged on the word "Unrat" (filth, rubbish) translatable as "Filth or rubbish will pass in time" and substituting "Unrat" for the original word "Rat" in the proverb "Kommt Zeit, kommt Rat" (Counsel will come in time)]. This president was one of the GDR authors delegated to the Second Berlin Encounter.

This pertains to the decision not to sit together with representatives of an institution that in terms of the state, and in concert with it, supports the curbing of the freedom of expression, takes measures against authors of different opinions, submits to the militarization of the public mind and the suppression of the independent peace movement, and makes itself serviceable to the official propaganda apparatus.

This suggests the question whether the GDR Writers Association still differs from that Polish association that was set up, after the old association was banned, under the military regime or has not long been just like it.

It seems questionable to me, even mistaken, to make contacts with such an association, in the name of peace to boot, that can so easily be abused as a vehicle for all sorts of claims, and conduct joint meetings.

The GDR authorities just love it when "discussions" between representative FRG authors and GDR delegates "are doing well"--if possible, within a representative framework. Simultaneously, however, contacts with the West are proscribed for more and more GDR citizens. That proscription entails the obligation to cut off any mail and telephone contact with relatives and acquaintances in the FRG, hence also the reception of gifts, letters and telephone calls.

Governments, to be sure, must for instance send telegrams of condolence and may hang their flags at half-mast when the party and government chief of one of the largest and strongest states has died.

But I am a private inhabitant. At such moments I happen to be interested always in something else.

The longtime KGB boss and then briefly the chief of the party and the state has died. As the boss of state security he had specialized in suppressing the dissidents. I need not send a telegram of condolence or hang a flag at half-mast. I am interested in the question: how are the political prisoners and exiles doing? How is the Ukrainian poet Yevhen Sverstyuk doing who in 1973 was sentenced to 7 years in a labor camp and 5 years in exile? How is the Ukrainian poet Vasyl Stus doing who in 1972 was sentenced to 5 years in a labor camp and 3 years in exile and in 1980, as a so-called recidivist, got 10 years of extra hard labor camp and 5 years of exile added to it? When will TASS bring a communiqué on their state of health?

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It took me long to learn to deal with the hostility, that was eventually explained to me in the GDR by small functionaries and one big functionary. They were unsatisfied with defining my attitude toward the "great cause," which I could not regard as hostility. It had to be more than that. I was an enemy, it was said.

Meanwhile, several years later, I have understood the explanation. If my request for a trip to the GDR is responded to by the sentences: "The request is denied. Your stay in the GDR is undesirable for obvious reasons," I know it; they say "you are an enemy," And I answer: "I agree."

In his poem, "On the Term 'Emigrant,'" Brecht says: "Not a home, an exile the land shall be that has received us./In unease we sit, as close to the border as possible,/waiting for the day of return." And a few lines later: "But none of us/will stay here. The last word/has not yet been spoken."

Without in any way wishing to indulge in a dubious comparison between historically very different situations, I may still be allowed to ask in which way my personal situation differs from that of which Brecht speaks.

Not my country have I changed, not even my city--the political system is what I have changed; and not to observe "in unease, even the smallest changes/across the border," am I sitting so close to the border, but I wanted to be in the city in which I had lived for 20 years, in Berlin.

I tend to believe that a change from one social system to another normally causes the same subjective effects as the change from one linguistic and cultural domain to another. Maybe even stronger ones (let alone when both are changed).

Do I then feel like an emigrant? Am I in exile?

I did feel strange for a long time: the same language, the same culture, the same city obliterated differences to me that came to the fore all the more vehemently. The change from East to West meant a separation from friends and relatives for an unforeseeable time--you were not spared any anxiousness, "nervous dread," consternation.

But I came--within the same original linguistic and cultural, even geographic, domain--into the political system of the FRG. Objectively speaking--to speak of what is most important to the profession in which I am engaged--it meant I was entitled to express myself freely and inform myself without constraint.

Many a native FRG intellectual, spared the experience of a totalitarian government system and regarding a criticism of the political system of the FRG apt only if it has negated the prerequisite for expressing such criticism in the first place, i.e. the existence of such a political system, may regard my cheerfully invoking the right to the freedom of expression as obsolete and trivial.

Knowing full well that there are historic, systematic and structural differences between communist and fascist rule, I am, hopefully, not suspect of some vulgar identification if I indeed tend to identify the forms in the exercise of power by both communist and fascist states--this only in view of the gigantic scope the mass production eradication of people has assumed under both government systems, or merely in view of the communist and fascist suppression of the rights of man, which in front of many revolutionary intellectuals of the West European coin can only with embarrassment be called still human rights.

So I may, almost without risk, substitute in 1984 for the term of "fascist pseudo-revolution" Thomas Mann used in a 1943 lecture that of "communist pseudo-revolution," in Thomas Mann's sentence: "Freedom and justice have long ceased to be banal; they are vital; and to think of them as boring, simply means an acceptance of the fascist pseudo-revolutionary fraud that violence and mass-deception are the last word and most up-to-date."

Eight years before Thomas Mann said that, at the First International Writers Conference for the Defense of Culture, in Paris in 1935, it was Gaetano Salvemini who would not accept that, in view of fascism and the danger of war, one should shut upon the deeds of real communism in the Soviet Union. He turned against the practices of Soviet state security that had deported the author Victor Serge to the Urals as well as against the practices of Italian and German fascism, and said: "As long as we have air and light we need not protect them. To comprehend their worth, one must have lost them. Once liberties are lost some day, they are not so simply regained. Do not mistrust your liberties, defend them stubbornly, declare their inadequacies along with it and fight for expanding them."

The fact that I accept the political order and system of the FRG does not mean I am uncritical toward manifestations of the reality in this system that deserve criticism. Those who apply the same yardstick to both often identify manifestations of the reality in this system that deserve criticism with the political system itself. That is the well-known procedure of selective apprehension, for example: there are neonazis in the FRG, hence the FRG is a neo-nazi state and what have you. They are doing so either from ignorance--as it reverberates out of many an FRG corner--or for reasons of a well articulated propaganda designed (mainly but not exclusively) beyond the wall.

That propaganda is simplistic and ineffective. With all its reckless pettifoggery, GDR propaganda cannot make it plausible to those who are walled in that the GDR is the better and more progressive Germany, as they are wont to say there. GDR cultural dignitaries who would shout after the authors they lost they had gone over into a historically obsolete era and would end up on the refuse heap of history, as is the saying there, have made themselves ludicrous with all their clamor.

I do wish to note a somewhat large item of "historic progressiveness" those dignitaries recently could lay claim to: an important book by an important author--not only of the GDR but of Germany--which in the FRG, the "historically obsolete refuse heap," has long been published complete, now was allowed to appear in the GDR, the "better Germany," bastardized by a censorship that does not exist: "Voraussetzungen einer Erzaehlung: Cassandra" [Premises for a Story: Cassandra]. The better Germany that surely is not.

One more word about the "dear fatherland." I could come up with speculations, invest them with a power of belief, and contribute them as my personal opinion on the subject of Germany. But what is the use. I would wish for the uneasy thought in the head of someone in Dresden that Heidelberg is a German city. I would wish for the uneasy thought in the head of someone in Heidelberg that Dresden is a German city. For the rest: who would want to imagine that the

Rhineland or the Free Hanseatic city of Hamburg or the German Alps waste away as GDR province?

To fill in that picture, I am not masochistic enough. In short: I grant precedence to the political over the national determination.

Six articles of the Penal Code in the GDR curtain the right to the freedom of expression directly. Amnesty International says: "Each of these articles has been used to arrest GDR citizens for peacefully exercising their right to the freedom of opinion."

I am not waiting for the "day of return" to the political system of real socialism. The FRG with its system of parliamentary democracy is no exile to me but--to quote Brecht--a "home." That it has become for me. I do not feel like an emigrant. I feel at home. This is the political system in which I want to remain. "The last word has been spoken" already.

With all the respect for the subjective sentiment of former inhabitants of the GDR who tend to describe their initial or lasting sense of being aliens they have had as a condition of exile, I permit myself the doubt that the term of exile is objectively inapplicable to the status of former GDR inhabitants in the FRG. This doubt by analogy also applies to the use of the term emigrant.

Where is there an emigrant in a country of exile who in fact becomes a citizen of that country on the day he arrives?

Without wishing to deny the origin and experiences of origin, I would rather speak for an integration with the circumstances of the present than for preserving a dubious emigre status, so that Brecht's word about exiles will not affect me: "With their ancestors/they have more contact than with their contemporaries." And "As they have no present/they seek to acquire permanence."

One may suspect that emotional ties to the past, the yesteryear, that go together with feeling alien in the present, preserve a peculiar attitude of sacrifice granting power to the past, to the father state and the mother party, still across the frontier.

A strange phenomenon can be observed. It recalls the time when a teacher still had a stick to hit with and, once he had done so often enough, it was enough for him to lift his stick and the pupils would wince and draw in their heads.

This is what sometimes still happens to some, it seems to me: they wince and draw in their heads when someone raises his voice and threatens them by the term "cold warrior."

Lastingly terrified obviously, they are still afraid, though long out of school, of the taskmaster's ideological stick. They should have fear because fear makes them quiet.

While in the West, they still are to be afraid to express their opinions freely because at the Eastern control points of the transit routes humiliating searches are suddenly carried out because relatives somewhere in the GDR are being kept

under illegal surveillance or rumors are spread in the GDR that one person or another had lost his life in the West, presumably through suicide.

Yet the pupils take their teacher seriously at once. They learn from him. Not only because he has rubbed it into them time and time again, but also because he has taught them to learn from the enemy. Peaceful coexistence between states with differing social orders, so he had taught them, does not mean peaceful coexistence of ideologies. And: ideological struggle was perfectly compatible with the peaceful coexistence of states.

Only in one respect the teacher was stubborn: his own ideological struggle would always be called "intellectual confrontation." The intellectual confrontation with him, the ideological struggle against him, however, always would have to be called "cold war."

The pupils do not want that anymore. They insist it should be called "cold war" on both sides or else, if it could not be otherwise, "intellectual confrontation" on both sides. Luckily, this is a confrontation in which we can finally be engaged without fear.

Authors coming here from the GDR are also being asked what they call themselves or want to be called. Their answer is likely to have an influence on what they are called.

Authors who are GDR citizens and have a visa permitting them to be in the West will have to insist on being called "GDR authors," even against colloquial versions such as "temporarily stationed in the FRG" or "trans-Westites."

Others, released from GDR citizenship, also find themselves frequently called "GDR authors," more often still "former GDR authors." After a while, however--under most favorable conditions--these trimmings of "GDR" or "former" finally fall by the wayside since they no longer mean anything in particular.

I would like to be called a German author--without any false flag of state.

5885
CSO: 2300/420

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED ORGAN URGES INCREASED CRITICISM TO DEVELOP SOCIALISM

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 24-25 Mar 84 p 11

[Article by Dr Wolfgang Tiedke, journalist: "Criticizing Means Wanting To Change--Socialism Is Not Inflexible"]

[Text] Generally talking about there also being some contradictoriness in socialist society all too long meanwhile incurs the justified reproach of carrying the proverbial coal to Newcastle. It is a lesson every philosophy student learns today; and also otherwise, what Engels thought about this society has been circulated sufficiently, namely, that it is "not anything finished for once and for all but, like any other societal structures, in constant change and transformation." Lenin's formulation was still more striking when he called the bourgeois idea of socialism as something rigid "mendacious without bounds." And wholly in that sense the SED Program characterized the continued shaping of the developed socialist society as a historic process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes.

Nor are the concept and application of criticism and self-criticism, as essential methods for disclosing contradictions, for understanding and, thus, possibly overcoming backward notions, and inadequate modes of conduct and working methods, anything new at all. Advances everywhere, and thus also in the social field, presuppose the critique of what exists, are the outcome of it. Socialist society therefore is untroubled relative to criticism on behalf of change. That, by the way, in contrast to the bourgeois society of today which, despite some pseudo-criticism that often sounds tough, ultimately aims at conserving all societal relations.

Socialist society sees the criticism of existing conditions for the purpose of changing and advancing them not as fault-finding or carping, but as a necessary developmental principle. Such criticism is not heaped, in an abstract fashion, on socialist society as such, but on concrete persons whose attitudes or acts obstruct social advances or at least fail to encourage them as much as they could. Criticism, therefore, is all the more concrete and constructive the more it practically demonstrates how socialism could be made still better.

The Critique of Performance Comparison

As such a constructive-critical method, e.g., the performance comparison among work collectives has in recent times again and again proven itself and stood up.

Sure enough, performances are also compared with each other in capitalism, but there such "performance comparisons" often end in the bankruptcy of one of the participants, whereas under socialist conditions the point that matters is to provide other collectives with good experiences of their own, so that all win. Conversely of course, it presupposes that the partner is willing to learn from others, too. Performance comparison, oriented, on the whole, to optimum achievements and marked by comradely cooperation and mutual assistance, thus is a concrete expression of criticism of what is obsolete and no longer up-to-date. Anyone who approves of criticism for change must also then approve of performance comparison among the best.

It has meanwhile been proven in practice that the germs of the new can then fast ripen into strong plants. Many collectives can, after all, vividly see then: the attained is not yet the attainable. Performance comparisons convey and strengthen the realization of all who participate that they can concretely advance social development. And precisely these experiences, collected en masse, are extremely important for further developing the readiness and ability for constructive criticism and self-criticism. And it is this effect that makes performance comparison so worthwhile as a management tool for creative mass initiatives.

Bourgeois ideologists, for all that, always seek placing in doubt the efficacy of such criticism, practiced en masse, and, worse, they claim socialist society is in essence uncritical, particularly because the party presumably had outlawed criticism. As to bourgeois ideologists a political line backed by the overwhelming majority of the population appears as a contradiction per se, they do not even bother providing any evidence for their contention. Their experience in bourgeois society is of course no different, but what they cannot do is thinking beyond it.

Thought Patterns of an Obsolete World

In their heads, the critique of social conditions combines mainly with the idea of confrontation with the political line of the leading party. Such notions are based on thought patterns of how in bourgeois society or even in previous orders that have perished any social critique was presumably or actually expressed and effected. And indeed--to pick up an idea of Brecht's--the manner in which the princes of medieval feudal empires enforced their views on each other was very different from how bourgeois parliaments normally do it. Socialist society likely also leaves means unused that seem indispensable to bourgeois ideologists. It uses others instead. But since no secret is made about them but, instead they are widely disseminated--such as the performance comparison--they can also be studied.

To conclude from not finding the familiar features in social criticism or pseudo-criticism that none of it exists at all would seem ot be at least absurd. Would it not make more sense to seek the causes of effects, the results achieved (e.g., the recently once again presented statistic report on the fulfilment of the 1983 national economic plan)? And when one has the people's critique on behalf of practical changes of their own world, should one then not rather surmise that critical ideas are operating?

Bourgeois Thinkers Short of Evidence

The "logic" of bourgeois argumentations is left to melt on one's tongue. They do not take socialist society for what it is; they add an "alien admixture" to it from the outset--or, to put it better, they declare the lack of that alien admixture to be a negative characteristic of this society from the outset. Bourgeois ideologists, as it were, do not deal with the subject itself, the topic of criticism in socialism, but they take a defiant position on it before they get started even. They place themselves, to quote Hegel, above the cause and not within it. In the final analysis their accusation is that the socialist system differs from the capitalist.

If the socialist society and its leading political force, the SED, were against constructive criticism, it would have to appear mysterious why they encourage tapping reserves and coming up with suggestions for improvements and why they stubbornly oppose any attempts that go against that. Entirely different tests have been waiting for them, so they need not be afraid of any deviating views. To be sure, a clear distinction is made between those who want to free socialism from mistakes and those other "critics" who regard socialism itself as a mistake and want to free themselves from it.

Because socialism needs, and therefore objectively facilitates, each individual's critical-creative participation in its further development, all we care about is how the modes of thinking and conduct necessary for it can still more rapidly be fully developed. The yardstick for it is the combative spirit of those working people in all public sectors which time and time again leads to this remark: To cope with the challenges of recent years, we had to change our ideas, had to become aware of new dimensions, had to make possible what we had long thought impossible, had to get things started and change. With the effect of such remarks proceeding, precisely, from their relating to reality, from that these were not just demands but experiences relating, not only to what was immediately ahead, but also that which had already been achieved.

The years ahead will once again present tasks and situations demanding still more elan and a higher commitment to our political goals, and an unprecedented wealth of ideas. Such an attitude conforms to our ideological theory which, consequently, cannot be carried on in comfort at all. Not only because its demands are not all that easy to meet, but because it holds up as a condition an effort for innovations. Which demands of the adherents to this world-outlook then also to carry burdens that always come with the efforts of surmounting the old ways.

Much has also been accomplished in this regard in the development of socialist development up to now; more and more working people find their self-realization as politically aware personalities. But much remains to be done. Each citizen's democratic participation cannot be decreed as a political right from the "top." It calls for personal dedication, a sense of responsibility for the whole, steadfastness and stick-to-itiveness, and sometimes only the courage of one's convictions. As our preparations for the communal elections show once again, more and more citizens understand that and act accordingly, yet there are still too many who get discouraged when conflicts arise in their field and who rather wait for criticism on behalf of change from higher headquarters.

Rights Need to Be Exercised

The right socialism grants, to be a political person, must also be exercised subjectively. At times that can be very uncomfortable and lead to personal burdens, to annoyance and, on occasion, to personal sacrifices. Yet even in this respect we are optimistic. The bourgeoisie needed half a millennium to make its principles prevail. The communists, in a little more than half a century, have carried through far more of their demands. Nor are we afraid of all the rest we still have to carry through.

5885

CSO: 2300/430

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

REFUGEE FLOOD INTO FRG ASSESSED

General Situation Survey

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 38 No 14, 2 Apr 84 pp 17-19, 21, 22

[Unattributed lead article: "Those People Are Taking Our Jobs Away"]

[Text] The FRG government believes that the flood of refugees from the GDR may be over in another few weeks once again. That fact does not make the government at all unhappy, since the refugees are a problem for West German society. At any rate, the government would much rather that SED chief Honecker agreed to a general easing of travel restrictions--but as for concessions, it is unwilling to make any.

At first, there was some muted jubilation. The chancellor, so government spokesman Juergen Sudhoff said, was elated over any individual receiving permission from the GDR authorities to leave for the FRG.

CDU Bundestag deputy Gerhard Reddemann, the chairman of the inner-German relations committee, called it a "welcome success for the government," while CSU chief Franz Josef Strauss was more inclined to view it as a personal achievement of his own. The increase in exit visas, said Strauss, "of course" was due in part to his talks with the GDR leaders.

But the real reason, according to CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler, as to why the CDU/CSU was having more success than the SPD previously in its efforts aimed at easing human relations inside divided Germany was that there is no doubt whatever in its allegiance to the Western alliance.

The SPD, which has been watching dumbfounded as East Berlin granted concessions to the CDU/CSU-FDP government which it refused to the prior socialist-liberal coalition, could think of hardly anything to say. SPD Germany expert Hans Buechler said somewhat lamely that this was not the time to "chatter" about the liberal visa policy but to sit back and quietly enjoy it.

For all that, what joy was felt by the government is no longer as pure as it once was. The more East Germans come to West Germany, the uneasier the Bonn government gets. Both the Minister for Inner-German Relations, Heinrich Windelen and Philipp Jenninger, the minister of state in the chancellor's office responsible for Germany policy, have said that it is not the goal of the FRG government "to depopulate the GDR." And a cabinet member added a touch of irony by saying it did not validate "our claim to unifying the nation, if in the end the nation collects exclusively on our side of the border."

But SED chief Erich Honecker will certainly not allow things to go so far. Still, what has come to pass during the first 3 months of this year is surprising enough. Far more than 13,000 citizens of the GDR have received permission to move to the FRG—which is more than throughout 1983 when only 11,300 East Germans were allowed to leave the GDR under the reunion of families act.

During the past month, an average of 328 people left the GDR each day. The all-time high during the years following the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 was 562 refugees on 7 March 1984.

But the end is in sight. To be sure, the GDR has made no announcement as to the exact scope of the operation but there are indications which lead the FRG government to believe that an at least temporary halt will be called when the figure of 20,000 or perhaps 25,000 is reached—which would be in May, if the present trend continues.

That would be perfectly all right with the Bonn government which would be happier with an orderly continuation of the operation rather than a spectacular burst of activity—in the interest both of the stability of inner-German relations and that of its East Berlin counterpart.

In looking for a motive to explain the unwonted generosity of the GDR, it is becoming more and more clear that it is the SED leadership's goal to make a deep cut and thereby rid itself of hard-core dissidents and create peace and quiet inside the country in the bargain.

True enough, the majority of those coming over belong to the so-called long-time cases concerning which the Bonn government made repeated representations [to the East Berlin authorities]: GDR citizens who applied for an exit visa years ago and stuck to their guns despite chicanery at the workplace and in social life. But there are also many young people arriving at the refugee camps who come from areas such as Jena, Dresden and East Berlin where there has been unrest.

The critics on the other side of the border, GDR experts are saying, are willing to take more and more risks nowadays. Those who want nothing to do with Honecker real socialist society are turning to spirituality and finding a new home inside the Protestant Church—using it as a springboard for troublesome debate on the ecology and armaments.

The Protestant bishops have mixed feelings about all this. On the one hand, it raises new conflicts with the government for the "church under socialism" and on the other hand, they heartily welcome the young activists joining the congregations which just a few years ago were merely limping along.

But this very group is dwindling once again and the church leaders are already imploring their parishioners not to leave their homeland lightheartedly. They fear that if the most active among them leave the country, intellectual and spiritual life in the GDR will once again begin to waste away. Eberhard Natho, president of the Anhalt Evangelical Church warned: "There is a future for Christians in the GDR; they are not forced to leave their country. They should instead believe that God will provide them with their needs inside the GDR."

Many are willing to "give faith a chance" (which was the motto of the GDR church convocations in 1983). They do stay and a new potential for protest is growing up as a consequence. For some time now, the ranks of the disaffected have not been limited to the church: there are punkers, housing communes and house occupiers all over. The newest sign for dissatisfaction is that groups of GDR citizens have called for a boycott of the communal elections on 6 May in some places.

The number of dissidents wanting to leave the country (with applications variously estimated at between 400,000 and 500,000) has risen so dramatically that Wolfgang Seiffert, an international law expert who left the GDR in 1978, is now calling it a "GDR variant of the Solidarity movement" triggered by people's hopelessness.

The idea that the wave of emigrants is just another word for a large-scale spring cleaning in the GDR is not enough of an explanation for the phenomenon. In this view, the GDR faces a rather volatile situation. The situation in the aftermath of the Kremlin changeover is hard to assess; the virus in neighboring Poland has not yet been stamped out; the economy both of the GDR and CEMA as a whole is in a bad way. As far as the SED is concerned, there is only one element of stability and economic promise and that is the good relationship to Bonn.

This explains Honecker's desire to preserve and expand on the achievements of the inner-German relationship. In mid-March, a ranking SED functionary, speaking informally to Western representatives, had this to offer in the way of explaining the policy followed by the inventor of the term German-German "community of responsibility:" "If we Germans choose not to talk to each other about our future today, we may well find ourselves reconvening our meetings in Valhalla one day. There is no need for us to be in love with each other; but reason and common sense tell us that the only option we have is peaceful coexistence."

It is above all the economy of the GDR which depends on this type of relationship. To be sure, the planners have been able to reduce the debt—although at the expense of private consumption and possible future investment in industry. But their troubles are by no means over. Economists at the East Berlin economic academy are anticipating the most severe structural crisis since the labor unrest of 1953.

It is the working people who suffer. Refugees report that in some towns it is not only people wanting to switch jobs who are standing in line at the government employment offices but also those out of a job who are picking up their 8 marks a day in unemployment compensation. An even more serious aspect of the situation is that the growing number of situations wanted ads in the GDR press shows that the GDR's work force is overqualified. Many engineers, university graduates and specialists are assigned to jobs below their actual level of competence.

The exodus is made possible by the GDR's population pyramid. Because of the baby boom a greater-than-average number of GDR citizens has been joining the work force since the mid-seventies—some 50,000 each year. In addition, thousands are losing their jobs to rationalization.

Which is why the old lament "there are not enough people" has died down. The GDR is in a position to get rid of many critics belonging to the army of workers assigned to jobs below their level of competence without any adverse consequences to the economy.

The SED does not simply reap benefits from the exodus; the party is aware that Honecker is playing a high-risk game. There are signs already that the population is afraid of missing the boat, as it were. "There is a chance that many GDR citizens who have not seriously considered leaving up to now may try to jump on board the train," said one official of the inner-German ministry, "for fear that it might be the last chance they will get."

If Honecker is forced to batten the hatches because internal control would otherwise slip out of his grasp, there would be an inevitable backlash on relations with Bonn. "This good thing will not work as well as it has much longer," says Klaus Boelling, the FRG's former representative to the GDR. But that is something the CDU/CSU would like to avoid—after making surprisingly rapid headway in Germany policy following the many years of obstruction while in the opposition.

The German-German spring in the midst of the missile winter gave proof of the carefully nurtured prejudice that communists would much rather deal with conservatives than with the social democratic ideological competition. The CDU/CSU nonchalantly reverted to the old familiar rhetoric on reunification. "We are once more unequivocally spelling out our national goals," Heinrich Windelen says, "and the other side understands."

At least, the other side has not taken offense so far. The minister points with pride to the fact that the "arms modernization year" of all years was characterized "by a particularly dense network of negotiations and meetings" with East Berlin—on economic cooperation and ecological issues as well as on a cultural agreement and youth exchange.

Whether the weave will hold only the future can tell. Eduard Lintner, the CDU/CSU spokesman on German policy, says that some FRG citizens are already coming out with "mean remarks" about the refugees "along the lines of: they are taking our jobs away."

And there are sensitive observers of the GDR scene in the chancellor's office who have registered growing "internal unrest" as a consequence of the exodus. Many East Germans are not only "deeply shocked" by the sudden emigration of friends and relatives; there is also "a great deal of skepticism" when those who leave cite political reasons for doing so when in fact "personal considerations predominate in most cases."

"It is our goal," says Windelen, in describing the policy of the Bonn government, "to work for conditions which make it easier for GDR citizens to stay." For some time, the Bonn government has therefore been trying to persuade the East Germans that greater opportunities for trips to the West would do more than dramatic revocation-of-citizenship operations to overcome dissatisfaction among the people and the concomitant internal political pressure.

The risk, the Bonn government keeps trying to tell the SED, is not as big as it seems. Not even one percent of the GDR citizens who visited the FRG last year for urgent personal reasons elected not to return to their homeland.

A GDR publication gave some indication last week that this option is at least being considered by East Berlin. The literary magazine, SINN UND FORM [Form and Substance], published transcripts of tape recordings of a married couple—both of them members of the SED—openly registering their complaints about conditions inside the GDR. The husband, a 59 year-old factory manager, complains "that I cannot travel wherever I want."

Party members as well as government and economic officials in particular are the ones who presently suffer most from the policies of their leaders. Honecker was forced to accomodate the hawks on the Politburo who are less than wholehearted in their support of his policies by extending, in an "at times shocking way," as Windelen put it, the ban on contacts with the West for all those whose jobs are sensitive from a security point of view in the eyes of the SED—and all this while the exodus of refugees is under way.

The Bonn government is quite familiar with this East Berlin approach to things. Periods of intensive negotiation were always accompanied by heightened restrictions. That is how it was in the years following the signing

of the treaty between the two states and that is how it is at present where the SED is cooperating with the new Bonn government.

Internal political problems as well as the long-standing inferiority complex vis-a-vis the almighty capitalist neighbor continue to keep the GDR leaders from permitting their subjects to partake more of the common ground among Germans on both sides of the border. To be sure, there is no reason to expect the CDU/CSU to accomodate the GDR's desire for prestige and thereby to prepare the way for greater access on both sides.

The majority view inside the CDU/CSU was firmly stated by Alois Mertes, the minister of state in the foreign ministry. The basic demands laid out by Honecker in his Gera speech of 1980, calling for a "change in German citizenship status; a change in the demarcation line on the Elbe river and the transformation of the permanent representations in Bonn and East Berlin into embassies," said Mertes, are "an expression of a threefold Soviet 'nyet' to the Western view of the legal status of Germany and of Berlin."

"The CDU/CSU and the FRG government continue to reject inequitable agreements," Mertes added, "which call on Bonn to make irrevocable concessions on legal issues while East Berlin is only willing to reach agreements which by their very nature can be revoked."

By this time, the GDR's position vis-a-vis those who try to win the right to leave the country by taking refuge in third-country embassies has hardened considerably. As recently as January, this sticky problem was resolved quickly and unbureaucratically when six GDR citizens took refuge in the U.S. embassy in East Berlin. Without any payment by Bonn, the six who wanted to leave were deported to West Berlin without much ado.

Soon thereafter, the SED Politburo decided that people taking refuge in foreign embassies would first have to return to the GDR and wait for their exit visas—if the FRG government made the required payment. This was the formula used to resolve the case of the niece of GDR Minister President Stoph and her family who had taken refuge in the FRG mission in Prague.

In the meantime, however, Honecker has told his top functionaries that this procedure will no longer be followed; departures by this route will no longer be approved. Returnees will be entitled to "sympathetic" treatment but will have to pay a fine for entering a foreign diplomatic mission without proper authorization.

That is bad news for the 38 GDR citizens who were still waiting for permission to leave the country last Friday. 35 of them had taken refuge in the West German embassy in Prague and the remaining three were holding out in the FRG mission in East Berlin. The FRG government is pinning its hopes

for resolving the problem on SED Politburo member Guenter Mittag, who will be visiting the Hanover Fair on Thursday and seeing Chancellor Kohl one day later. The consequences for the visit would be disastrous, the Bonn government has warned, if one of the refugees were to lay hands on himself for example.

Guenter Mittag has had some experience along these lines. Shortly before his last visit a year ago, Rudolf Burkert, a West German citizen traveling to the GDR, died of a heart attack during an interrogation by GDR customs officials. The Springer media as well as [Franz Josef] Strauss were up in arms about this "case of murder" on the frontier. If nothing untoward intervenes, the chancellor will be in a position to welcome still another visitor: GDR party chief and head of state Honecker, who will be making his first trip to West Germany.

The visitor's program is a reflection of the Bonn government's official Germany policy. For status reasons—so as not to force a future FRG chancellor to visit East Berlin some day—Honecker will only visit Trier and the Saarland. But Chancellor Kohl, in keeping with the old socialist-liberal Ostpolitik motto, will be talking to him on the basis of "good faith on both sides," as Jenninger has announced.

Refugee Reactions

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 38 No 4, 2 Apr 84 pp 22-23, 25-26

[Unattributed article: "'Like a Leap Over 20 Years'—The German-German Resettlers: Looking for a Better GDR ?"]

[Text] In the beginning, as the one part of Germany was separating from the other part and the border could still be crossed with impunity, people just packed their belongings in a cardboard box, waded across the river at Helmstedt and that is all it took to get to the West.

But later, the death fences, the automatic firing devices, the minefields, the German shepherds and the searchlights turned any border-crossing attempt into virtual suicide. If anyone did make it across, it was a real adventure—in a kayak across the Baltic; in a balloon across the divided sky; in a mad vault over the fence or wall; by the direct route in the trunk of car or by a circuitous route via the "gold coast" of Bulgaria or even underground through a tunnel at the sector border [in Berlin].

For a few weeks now, that has changed. Not quite as comfortably as Hamburg businessmen or Duesseldorf industrialists going to the Leipzig Fair, people from Saxony, Anhalt and Mecklenburg have been coming across the other way in droves—not just for a visit but to stay for good. They have come by train in second class, with moving vans and new suitcases; some even in their own car.

More than 13,000 Germans have already arrived without any problems—not as refugees or blockade runners but quite legally as bona fide travelers. How many more such outward bound travelers (as they are referred to in the GDR) will come and how much longer the government will allow its workers and peasants to come over and become citizens of the West, no one really knows.

To be sure, there have always been a few who went on the party's nerves whose freedom was purchased and there were some who were given official permission to leave. But now those good old days seem to have returned when the numbers of GDR refugees were reported in the papers every day like the stock market quotations; when entire villages up and left; when people voted with their feet and made the Saxon-speaking component of the FRG population swell.

This bloodletting was stopped by Moscow and then party chief and head of government Nikita Khrushchev explained why. "What was I to do," he said. "In July [1961], more than 30,000 people left the GDR and they were among the best and ablest. It was not hard to figure out how long it would have taken for the East German economy to collapse, if we had not adopted measures to counteract this mass exodus."

"I know the Wall is an ugly business," he also said. "One day, it will disappear."

Has that day arrived? Back then, about 23 years ago, the GDR was in danger of collapsing because of the 30,000 monthly refugees. But today, they are simply letting thousands or even tens of thousands go—where some of them have waited in vain for years for permission to leave and now get word on Tuesday that they can take off on Wednesday with no questions asked.

These people who are being treated in such a privileged way are not even prominent. They are not like Biermann, the writer of protest songs or Kunze, the poet, who were let out but never let back in. And they are not artists who paint their canvases in the East but send them to galleries in the West and are permitted to cross the border as often as the government cares to let them.

No, these are teachers from East Berlin, inland boatmen from Mecklenburg, bakers from Leipzig, engineers from Radebeul, technicians from Magdeburg with their wives and children, with all their belongings—in short just like the ones who came over prior to 1961.

But there is one difference. In contrast to the time before the Wall went up, these are almost exclusively people who were born in the GDR. They are Germans coming over to take their place beside Germans who will, however, remain strangers to them for a time. They know the West only from television and their ties to their new home are only based on vague notions and the perennial longing of wanting to live there.

Someone who was born in Pirna in 1962 and never lived anywhere else for 22 years will have a hard time adjusting to a place like Wanne-Eickel even if this very town always was the goal of his punk, jeans and motorcycle dreams.

The only thing one can do under these circumstances is to become or to act like "a super Westerner initially," as a 36 year-old craftsman from Halle described the period of forcible adjustment within a society where the words "GDR" and "inferior" still go together despite the socialist-liberal years of detente. Since a Wartburg automobile cannot compare with a Mercedes, the people who sit inside it must also be different in other words.

Looking at the world through the eyes of the GDR, the picture is no less distorted: whipped cream cakes every day. Many of the new arrivals have also been pumped full of illusions by the commercials on television. And the question is bound to arise as to how to use your elbows to attain your place in the sun in a pitilessly competitive society.

But that is not the issue during the first few hours or days after they arrive. At the very outset they are simply astounded about "being able to choose between bananas and grapes," as Brigitte and Hanspeter Borrmann put it. Borrmann is a 40 year-old locksmith. He, his wife and two daughters are all living in one room at Kiefernstrasse refugee center in Frankfurt.

They feel they have come up against "an entirely new way of life," saying "we have leaped ahead in time by almost 20 years."

What they are blurting out with such a feeling of relief is nothing but the obverse of the sad observation made by Hanover housewife upon seeing the rundown facades and store fronts of the Old Market in Magdeburg. "How can they let people live this way," the woman said.

Just the same, three of the Borrmann's children aged 18, 20 and 21 respectively did not feel like making the great leap forward across two decades—at least not yet. They stayed behind and so, still another family—a German family—has been broken up the temporary easing of restrictions to the contrary notwithstanding.

Anyone who has relatives living in the FRG will spend no more than 2 or 3 days in the cramped refugee camps. The Osthofen refugee center near Worms, in the words of the people who run it, is a "madhouse" comprising 43 rooms and 230 beds. At the Giessen refugee camp, the personnel are working "to almost total physical exhaustion." On a single day in early March, they took in 500 new arrivals from the GDR. And in Berlin where many of the outward bound are headed 80 additional cots had to be set up in the dining hall of the Marienfelde refugee camp.

First off, the new arrivals are given some money and at the end, they get a train ticket to Wiesbaden, Stuttgart or Saarbruecken. There is no way of getting around the formalities. The inevitable bureaucracy sees to it that they get their daily allowance (of DM 15); their welcome money (DM 150 or half that amount for young people); unemployment compensation, social welfare assistance and loans (DM 4,000 for married couples).

After just a few days the luster of the West becomes somewhat tarnished by all the paperwork that seems to be required: passports, identity documents and the questionnaire from the Office for the Protection of the Constitution.

Those who are required to go through it call it "crazy" or "a bother" and some say "there is a form for everything." Lothar Milde, an educator from East Berlin now staying at the Hochheim am Main refugee center, puts it this way: "I must say I was so shocked by it, I just sat on my bed and started crying—really bawling."

Others have had more pleasant experiences. 34 year-old Albert Braut from Leipzig reports that a salesman from Osnabrueck—a real live West German in other words—whom he met on the train first "gave me a hand with my luggage which I would not have expected" and then even bought him some sausage, coffee and cake at a snack bar. "That brought tears to my eyes, honestly."

Solidarity with the brothers and sisters comes easy with the help of money—and there is no real shortage of that. One of the refugees who operated a crane in Saxony until recently ran into a pensioner in Giessen who took him to the supermarket and "picked out everything we needed for our dinner today," paying DM 40 for the lot—"a miracle," the crane operator's wife called it. Then there was an animal shelter employee who got on the train on the other side with 30 pfennigs (West) in his pocket and left the train with DM 60 which someone must have stuck in his pocket. He calls it "unbelievable" and some one who came with him says: "You would never find anyone in the East Zone doing a thing like that."

Among those who have just come over and spent a few days in the West, disbelief because everything is even fancier than they thought and disappointment because Western freedom does not instantly turn into affluence for all tend to overlap. There are some who feel that their "dream has been destroyed" after just a couple of weeks and say "that more than half of the people would just as soon go back." And there are others who say it is "great to be able to speak up" even in official places. They are satisfied: "After all, we did not expect this to be a paradise."

The first lesson the GDR Germans tend to learn is that there is good and bad in the FRG like anywhere else and that the way the cards are dealt depends on chance. 34 year-old Margot Junghans, a turner from Freiberg

near Karl-Marx-Stadt, had the misfortune of turning to the wrong West German woman when she asked for the way to Mainz-Finthen. "What are you coming over here for?" the woman asked her. "You had a job and a place to live in the GDR. We have enough foreigners living here already."

When Ms Junghans and her sister got work cutting vines at no more than DM 4 per hour, they "really felt like s..." and next day, we "preferred just to lie in the sun."

Nor has her husband found a job as yet. He has been making telephone calls all over but "was told everywhere 'no thank you,' we don't need anyone. And then we just said: 's....'"

45 year-old Regina Rossa from Bautzen, a married woman with three children, has been luckier. At least that is the way she looks at it. After spending 8 days in Giessen and another 5 days at the youth hostel in Steinbach, the family is now living in one room at the Osthofen transit camp and stands a chance of getting a 4-room apartment in Alzey at DM 750 per month. Back in the GDR, they paid 34 marks for $2\frac{1}{2}$ rooms but they are determined to make it. Both her husband and her son have found work and their employer has initially made a small car available to them.

Just like many West Germans, the East Germans have to go out to look for a job and a decent place to live. "It will work out somehow," 34 year-old Hannelore Hoeppner, an engineer from Radebeul says. "And if it does not, I will just get a job as a cleaning woman or I will go to America or to Australia. That can be done from here."

Hartmut Kraemer of the Worms employment office finds "that most of them know what the score is here" with regard to unemployment but "they are all hoping that they will not join the ranks."

There is no special treatment given to the GDR people who have not been assigned a proper name thus far. But there are employers, the employment office says, "who have their eyes out" for them, going on the assumption that "the new arrivals are more industrious and modest in their demands" than the rest of the population. "In some instances, they are prepared to work for pay below scale," Kraemer says, "and will take on jobs for which they are overqualified."

The Osthofen bulletin board lists a job for "a young girl in her early twenties as a chambermaid and kitchen helper at the 'Bettelhaus' hotel in Duerkheim." The "job offer" calls for gross wages of DM 1,400 to be applied to the rent while "board is free."

Someone else is looking for a "single woman to work in the kitchen and the house and to cook." Her payment will be "a free room of her own."

Holger and Petra Pohle from Naumburg and their two children would also like to live for free. When they arrived in Frankfurt in late February they did not own "a thing; not even a cooking pot." They managed to buy a few things from "the first money [they received] in Giessen." Now they are getting DM 166.20 from social welfare and the rent for their room comes to DM 161.

Nonetheless, they have put in an application for a 3-room apartment for which they expect to pay DM 700 per month. They are looking for "central heating and a bath" which they have not had so far—"nothing, not even a bathtub."

But for this type of thing one would need the everpresent state which takes care of everything. To be sure, the new arrivals are given a "route slip" which tells them "not to be discouraged" and instructs them to visit 16 different offices but still they feel that they are "too much left to our own devices." 26 year-old Gottlieb Feser, an auto mechanic from Saxony, puts it this way: "Over here, you have to do everything yourself and over there, the state does it all for you."

But that is about as far it goes in terms of praise. When BILD and BILD AM SONNTAG published what Ingrid Berg, "Uncle Willi" Stoph's niece had to say and the Bergs (who are filthy rich by GDR standards) claimed they felt "like prisoners" in the East despite the fact that they were able to buy at the Intershop and then complained that they have to pay DM 161 "for this shabby hole" in the refugee center just like everybody else, people were incensed.

"Those criminals," the Bergs' neighbors said and one GDR woman who had had to wait 3 years for permission to leave called it "a monstrous shame." The Bergs were also referred to as "big shots" who did not even know what the inside "of a HO store looks like" and who ought to be "sent back by return mail."

In fact, some who have had unhappy experiences in the West are wishing for much the same thing. There is the head physician of a women's clinic in East Berlin, for instance, who succeeded 3 years ago in getting to Austria and from there to the FRG. He is now 57 years old and no longer able to find an appropriate position, having to work in "medical journalism" instead.

"I once was a proud dissident," the professor says. "But now I am a beggar and an immigrant. In retrospect, I would not want to arrange my life on the other side any differently; but if I had to do it over again, I would not leave the country a second time."

To be sure, all of those who come over do not have an easy time of it; but once they find out what the score is they tend to accept the situation they are in and are grateful for just a bit of friendliness. 22 year-old Henry Leuschner, a roofer who came to West Berlin last fall with his wife and small child, was quite proud when he got "VIP treatment" for having been a political prisoner and having sustained 22 injuries from the automatic firing devices when he tried to escape. The SPD handed him DM 25 and the CDU gave him another DM 50.

That things are looking up for him he can also tell in other little ways. "At first," he says, "we would only speak in whispers. Now we do not even jump every time the doorbell rings." It may just be the milkman.

Nonetheless, analyses and forecasts dealing with the assimilation of former GDR citizens into West German society do not make for happy reading. West Berlin researchers Horst-Guenter Kessler and Juergen Miermeister have found that about 20,000 of the former GDR citizens are living in the FRG as non-permanent residents, making up about one-fifth of this fringe population group although their proportion of the total FRG population stands at only 5 percent.

More exact figures which would make more accurate research into the causes for this rather negative situation are obscured by Western attempts to gloss over the matter. Although the Evangelical Press Service reported 2 years ago that 30 percent of the almost 100,000 non-permanent residents in the FRG are "'ransomed' citizens of the GDR," the working group for assistance to non-permanent residents claims that they make up only 1.6 percent.

Many of the biographies of former GDR citizens—even of those who finally made it in West Germany—tell of a longing for an almighty social entity which supervises the all-too-free play of forces in ways which are different and yet reminiscent of the paternalistic socialist state; which reins in the strong and protects the weak.

Many a one who seemingly came over because of the contrast [between the two Germanies] would essentially, vainly and in the long term seem to be looking for a better GDR in the FRG.

Thus, it does not come as much of a surprise that someone like Klaus von Gottschalk, a 29 year-old janitor from Brandenburg, would say after just a few days of living in Frankfurt that "it is a pity that we here cannot vote for the CSU. Strauss is our type of guy; the best; an ur-German just like us."

Honecker Tactics, Prospects Evaluated

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 38 No 14, Apr 84 pp 20-21

[Article by Klaus Boelling, former FRG permanent representative in the GDR:
"Honecker Is No Dreamer"]

[Text] Boelling, 55, government spokesman under Chancellor Helmut Schmidt from 1974 to 1980 and again from April 1982 up to the change of government in October 1982, held the post of FRG permanent representative in the GDR from February 1981 until the spring of 1982.

Political poets are saying that relations between the FRG and the GDR have emerged from the ice age—if not through the exalted and invigorating power of spring, then at least through the policy of our government. Andropov is dead and so is his wall of missiles across which the Germans were to have eyed each other. Communists, the chancellor reminds us, are hardheaded and calculating.

It is comforting to know therefore that the "coalition of reason" entered into with the GDR is being operated by men who are neither lackeys, nor pussy-footers who themselves think in terms of reciprocal performance.

At Leipzig, Erich Honecker had to give out numbers like a successful health insurance doctor so that all the long-time anti-communists got their chance to tell him what they thought a pragmatic Germany policy ought to look like. The "massive nature" of these meetings did not meet with Philipp Jenninger's approval. "Such things," he said, should not be overdone. And Willy Brandt called Honecker's talk show a lot of hocus-pocus—which is also what it seemed like to Jenninger perhaps.

After the Werbellin meeting, the CDU/CSU-leaning journalists maliciously queried Chancellor Helmut Schmidt about "the bottom line." One may now ask what will come of the "new" Germany policy. The DM 1 billion which Strauss turned loose was a sensible investment in the future. It had little to do with any tit-for-tat arrangements in essence. At any rate, the huge amount was not an instrument of operational Germany policy but rather a stroke of genius on Strauss' part.

Honecker is not about to sell his citizens in the way the Hessian Elector once sold his for cold cash. The fact that all the inhabitants of a small town were recently allowed to leave had something to do with the internal needs of his state and with nothing else.

Is there a German-German royal road opening up for us—with the envious and spiteful survivors of Herbert Wehner cowering by the side from whom Honecker withheld all the things he is now dispensing so generously ?

The chancellor would like to become something more than just a footnote to Germany policy—which is a noble undertaking. Jenninger, his knowledgeable adviser, would like to see to a pedestal for the chancellor to stand on. "To do what is best for the people; to do everything possible to alleviate the division of our country." That is almost the way Wehner used to talk. But it will not do. The good cause will not continue to go well much longer. Jenninger warns us about euphoria. The man knows what he is talking about.

Recently, Kohl rolled a sentence into the Bundestag that was like a hoary, moss-covered rock. "Freedom," he said, "is the core of the German question." Is this article of faith to be construed as a policy guideline ? If it is, that would be the end of Kohl's Germany policy.

The fact is that the core of the German question has not been freedom for a good long time. It is [instead] the preservation of peace; in other words, the preservation of the status quo. Everything else is ornamentation or worse. All labor is lost, if there is no stable GDR.

Ere the leaves start falling from the trees it will become clear that the chancellor is either engaging in rhetoric which reflects all-German pipe dreams which rub the other side the wrong way or he really tries "to do what is best for the people."

There are not many visitors from Bonn who have not been told by Honecker that "our demands made in Gera will stay on the table." Jenninger tries to make it appear that he thinks that is just talk. Previously, he had let it be known that he thought there were limits to the other side's patience. He carefully sounded out the possibility of reaching a "modus vivendi" with the GDR regarding the Elbe frontier between Lauenburg and Schnackenburg. But this new departure will not get very far.

The government of Lower Saxony has come up with a card to play (it was almost like finding a Rembrandt in the attic). It calls for "toughness" and is supposed to put an end to the demands for drawing the borderline in midstream for all time. It sounds like the wrong game being played with the right card—one that was always there but which the victorious powers chose not to play when they divided Germany along the Elbe river. But why is Albrecht taking it out of the pack at the very moment when the Bonn government is busy trying to remove possible causes for conflict with the GDR ?

The journalists beholden to the old guard are huffily saying: "The subject is closed." Why don't they come right out and say may that man's hand wither who agrees to the frontier in the same manner as the FRG has many

times agreed in the case of her Western neighbors. To fix the border between two countries in the center of a river is normal procedure under international law. Germans and Germans will not confront each other along the fateful river as the Russians and the Chinese do along the Ussuri.

But it is vain indeed to hope that a legal trick might help confirm the status quo because "everything is running so smoothly" and perhaps improve on it by making an appropriate payment. Some day the border will be drawn; but by then the Elbe may be hopelessly polluted. People will be amazed one day to find all the issues which the GDR considers "closed."

The GDR is a "phenomenon" no longer. We can and we should bargain with them in a tough way. But even the vice chancellor discovered recently that the GDR cannot be bought. The Albrecht game cannot be won. No matter; good policy, Adenauer has told us, requires a lot of patience. Kohl's political advisers who wish to give away as little of the river as the socialist-liberal coalition before them will have to accept reality.

Those opposed to making "concessions in legal status to the GDR," such as Alois Mertes, have balked at making any statements to the Salzgitter central registry office which even the lawyer who heads it considers superfluous. The fact is that the entire matter smells. There is no reason to differ with Juergen Schmude who said that "the attempt to help our Germany policy win out like some proceeding before a lower court has already failed." Even conservative international law experts asked years ago whether it did not constitute unpermissible interference in the internal affairs of the GDR, a state recognized by us, if we ask that offenses be punished which, strictly speaking, were committed by citizens of the GDR against their own compatriots. In political terms, the Salzgitter agency is not all that different from the Ludwigsburg operation which deals with the solution of national socialist crimes.

Jenninger says that the Bonn government aims to conduct a "credible as well as calculable policy." The 'as well as' part is what counts. If and when Honecker comes to visit, he will be accorded the status of a guest of the federal government "in extension of the expediency principle." Under these circumstances, he will be protected from that unnamed state prosecutor who would have him or some member of his delegation arrested right at the chancellor's dinner table because he wishes to interrogate Honecker himself—perhaps only as a witness—in a case involving perversion of justice which is part of the Salzgitter files.

Those who continue to support the Salzgitter operation (Strauss did so not long ago, but is that still his position?) cannot find anything wrong with placing Honecker, who once was an inmate of a Nazi penitentiary, on the same level as the criminals of the Hitler era.

Kohl's office is well aware of the fact that border guards have aimed their rifles at people only on rare occasions since the Werbellin meeting at the latest. It should also be aware of the fact that such moderation has nothing to do with the "deterrent effect" of the Salzgitter agency but with thinking processes inside the SED Politburo which have not just happened.

Salzgitter and the Elbe frontier—these are two points which Honecker will not drop. They are the very points which we could drop without betraying important legal positions of our own. Otherwise, paragraph 1 of the basic treaty on relations between the two German states will one day not be worth the paper it is written on—the article which calls for the development of good neighborly relations.

And what about the citizenship issue? Honecker is not a daydreamer. This particular hurdle is too high for any Bonn government; he knows that. If some person in authority in Bonn tells Honecker in Leipzig he should let his Germans travel to the West the way the Hungarians do, then Honecker says he will think it over.

He has long since done just that. Many times, one would think. And he always came to the same conclusion. If Bonn were ever to get itself explicitly to respect the undeniably existent GDR citizenship without any penalty, then the other side might start to think things over once again.

[The constitutional court in] Karlsruhe would hardly oppose it. The justices would also have to consider what has been weighing on the minds of the Germany politicians of all parties for weeks: Should we really be in favor of more and more Germans leaving the GDR. Many of them, as GDR protester Manfred Stolpe has so aptly put it, are merely transporting their own problems to the West and shouldn't we recognize at long last that giving people a chance to travel freely is vastly more important than revising the terms of the minimum exchange regulations? That particular billion mark game will fail, too. We will simply have to concern ourselves with the interests of the other side at long last.

But the tough guys know better. Bonn and East Berlin simply have to live with the fact that there are issues which cannot be resolved at present. And that could well be the epitaph for the efforts made by staunch Philipp Jenninger.

He wants to do what is best for the people. There is no such thing as an abstract truth, Lenin says. Truth is concrete—Brecht had that sign hanging over his desk. But where will it lead, if we tell the chancellor to listen to Lenin in formulating his Germany policy?

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THIRTEENTH PLENUM DISCUSSIONS EVALUATED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 1, Jan 84 pp 48-57

[Article by Andrzej Gaszczolowski, "After the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee: The Duty and the Chance"]

[Text] It has been said about the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee that it was "an ideological one, of strategic importance." This assessment has nothing to do with casual rhetorics, nor with a reminder that the previous plenum of the Central Committee to deal comprehensively with problems of ideological work, met 20 years ago.

One could say that the 13th Plenum has well armed the party with arguments and orientation points: what is to be done, and how. Thus, it has strengthened the party, equipped it to implement its tasks derived from the reports-elections campaign and the 1984 political timetable.

In order to define correctly the tasks and the means of their implementation, and to chart precisely the road ahead, one has to recall briefly the place of origin. Thinking about the present state of the party, and of our provincial organization in Poznan, invokes comparisons and recollection of the beginning of the current term, of the tragedies, perplexities, and embitterment that appeared at that time, of internal disintegration and ideological demagnetization, and of both successful and abortive attempts to remedy the party. Fresh in mind are the insults to the party, and the disparagement of the entire, centruy-long, path of the Polish workers' movement. It is indispensable to remember those facts. Shunning easy optimism, and looking back at the road already covered, we have the right to declare that in recent years the party has passed its great political test. The Ninth Congress became the source and the turning point of the recovery course of socialist renewal. Its policy of struggle, reconciliation, and reforms, has shaped the sense of our present activity.

Since the Congress, and in particular since the Plenum, the ideological rebirth of the party and the recovery of its capacity to lead as the champion and representative of the true interests of the working class, have been, and remain, the essence of all party and political activities, an ambition both declared and fulfilled.

Critical observation of attitudes and moods, of activities and their shortcomings, proves that in our province the party has gathered strength and vigor.

The strengthening of the party can be seen particularly in large industrial centers. Party organizations have made the first step to recover confidence in their own strength and capability, and readiness to explain and to defend the political line of the party, even when this requires considerable courage.

Especially invigorating are signs of patience, caution, and maturity of the working class. We note the rebirth of traditional values of the Wielkopolska thrift, diligence, discipline, and organization, as well as firmness in implementing the premises of the economic reform. No need to add that this occurs despite the faint-hearted whimpering and destructive actions by our adversaries.

The party is reentering strengthened by its ideological and political reconvalescence. It is a clear process, albeit still unsatisfactory and far from final fulfillment, sometimes marked by zig-zaging and breakdowns (if only due to emotions provoked, for instance, by the unfortunate manner of the return to fats rationing). One might say that after years of happy-go-lucky attitude to ideological activity, of sidetracking and instrumental treatment of ideological and politico-educational problems, we are at present much more successful in inculcating ideological issues into our party life. Thinking in terms of ideology, perceiving the ideological aspect and the consequences of our actions in the economic and the administrative domains, becomes general and involves a large number of activists in the basic echelons of the party.

In the course of getting rid of corrupted, alien, and ideologically weak people, our claim that the party--to paraphrase Lenin's words--is strong thanks to the consciousness of its members and their ideological allegiance, has been confirmed. We are learning that ideological allegiance is the backbone of party's strength. It is more important than a mechanical, numerical force. We are aware that the situation in this respect still varies, and that our front has not yet been aligned, but there are, nonetheless, more and more organizations which in their ideological and educational work attach prime importance to the demand for the ideological allegiance of party members and activists.

Ideological allegiance. The term, too often abused in the past, has turned into commonplace and lost its original meaning. While restoring the original and essential meaning of this term, we have to point out that ideological allegiance is neither genuine nor credible unless it assumes a triple nature. First of all, when its elementary factor consists of knowledge, acquaintance with the party ideology, its program and policy. In the second place, when party members identify with ideological principles and are ready to expose them, to propagate them, and to have the courage to defend them, even when this is neither easy nor popular and requires going against the tide of some current, confused views or opinions. And finally, a touchstone of ideological allegiance means being loyal to the accepted and proclaimed truth, confirmed by personal example. It means giving an affirmative answer to the question, whether there are permanent links between acquired knowledge and practical behavior, whether such ideological knowledge brings fruit in the realm of discipline, integrity, and productivity of all the professional and civic activities of party members.

In light of the 13th Plenum debate, such an approach to ideological allegiance assumes utmost importance. This has been determined by both objective and

subjective criteria. After the lifting of martial law we have entered a qualitatively new stage of development. We are aware, however, that the counterrevolution, while defeated, has not surrendered; this is true, in particular, of its most fanatic and adventuresome elements. At present, our battle against the adversary is waged mainly on two fronts: in the economy, for its progress, for confirmation of the correct course of the policy we have adopted and are now implementing; and in the area of struggle for social consciousness. Let us keep in mind that--despite harassment due to trade restrictions and the Reaganite arms race--we are still under enemy fire through propaganda aggression and ideological diversion.

Reagan has proclaimed--I use his own terms--a "crusade" to turn Marxism and socialism into an "ash-heap of history." We, the entire party ideological front are faced with difficult to remedy activities of indigenous masters of demagoguery and half-truth. Effects defined by political fables about Japan on the Vistula, by apology of long discredited historical personalities, dead and gone myths and traditions, by the political offensive of clericalism and intolerance, by the results of propaganda outrages and social utopias, headed by the anarchosyndicalist pipedream about a self-governing commonwealth.

The ravages in the awareness of our population are not confined to historical and state consciousness. The economic awareness, too, has been severely maimed. This has brought about a terminological confusion, disruption of linkage, disparate approach to problems of distribution and production and to wages, costs, and prices, as well as ignorance concerning the conditioning and the rules of economic development. This is a heavy burden. It slows down the implementation of the economic reform. It promotes attitudes of claims which ignore production, austerity, or labor productivity, it provides fertile soil for irrational attitudes.

While raising the question, we do not intend to simplify anything. Not everything is to be blamed on enemy destruction. The collapse of our earlier economic propaganda has been revealed here, alongside with the need for genuine, offensive education in economics. For many years our economic propaganda and ideological education have presented socialism as a "benign uncle," as a welfare system which only gives away. The teachings of Marx and Engels that socialism has to perform in order to give away, have been forgotten. The economy of a socialist state has neither hidden reserves nor miraculous cures, other than goods actually produced.

The ravages in the awareness are so vast, that in conjunction with the logic of class warfare they might be regarded as a serious ideological challenge. An intellectual and ideological aptitude, not only among the experts on ideology--such as scholars, writers, and propagandists--but above all, among all the members and the activists of the party as a whole, of its echelons and primary elements, is the first precondition required in order to take up this challenge and to get the upper hand.

We have to be careful, lest our initial progress causes stagnation and self-appeasement; in our party work-style permanent critical reflection on the experience acquired should become the rule, while ineffective actions should be consistently eradicated. Many of our party echelons still have to struggle against

old accretions and shortcomings in their working style, against temptation to opt for the easiest way out, against excesses of *sui generis* technocracy and idle rustle of many activists. Those shortcomings include, for instance, insufficient direct personal participation in ideological and educational work, which is replaced by issuing guidelines and distributing propaganda stuff. Hence the limitations in the scope and the efficiency of our influence, which loses its dynamics and its spirit of enterprise.

The results of extensive checkups in primary-level echelons and organizations, indicate that, here and there, symptoms of fiction and make-believe still survive, followed by ready acceptance of mediocrity, according to the principle: "plus-minus, the average." There is a steep decline in subscription and readership of party literature, press, periodicals, and information bulletins. There is terminological confusion. Even the statutory duty of universal party schooling is not treated seriously enough, while ideological meetings are either being cancelled or remain schematic and boring. No wonder that in such organizations the ideological ties between the party rank and file are frequently weak, and even attendance at party meetings and payment of dues leave much to be desired.

In the course of the ongoing reports-elections campaign we have criticized all such areas of political apathy. We have demanded accounts from inactive or reluctant party members, assessed them critically, and asked the question: "What could you, and would you, do for the party and for the socialist renewal?" We have decided to give them individual, organizational and self-educational, assignments, to offer them ways of activization. The experience of many active organizations has convinced us that even such simple procedures as often as effective as the proverbial yeast.

For the new party ruling bodies at all levels, it is most important to enforce this requirement of ideological allegiance and activity of the entire membership, to follow the pattern of those--by now fairly numerous--secretaries, who do not retire into their shells of narrow organizational activity, but set themselves up as good examples of thorough ideological knowledge, personal propagandist passion, self denial in widening the horizons of their education, personal active participation in initiating and implementing the program of party training.

The cadres of organizers of ideological activity, the propagandists, constitute a significant element in the process of ideological rebirth and political integration of the party rank and file. In the past, this was a group restricted to a few professionals. Now we are overcoming such remissness. We try to impose on all the leading cadres in the party apparatus and in the top provincial administration the obligation to propagate actively the party line. Our target is best expressed by the slogan, "Every party activist an educated Marxist," that is to say, an expert and a propagator of our ideology.

The implementation of this slogan and the improvement of ideological qualification are being achieved, for instance, through monthly ideological and theoretical meetings. We discuss there the key problems of Marxist theory and the most important contemporary issues. The leading, and the most competent, representatives of social sciences and of political practice appear as lecturers. Such conferences have therefore won genuine popularity, they provoke interest and

satisfy the requirements of even the most perspicuous audience. They provide the participants with arguments and patterns of effective, suggestive agitation and propaganda of our cause.

We pay particular attention and care to our work among the cadres of lecturers at all levels. We have included among the lecturers the most ideologically reliable, steadfast, and essentially competent comrades. We abide by the rule we have adopted, that "every political party activist is a lecturer." In addition to political effects, such a procedure greatly contributes to the implementation of a correct personnel policy, and promotes harmonious development of personality of all party functionaries; it provides the basis for correct prediction concerning the advancement of cadres.

An active role in the party propaganda is also played by agitators and lecturers recruited among grassroots party members, people employed directly at the shop-floor, enlightened workers of mature class consciousness. They are instructed and trained by the Ideological Commission of our Provincial Committee at monthly discussion meetings. No need to stress that--once equipped with sufficient knowledge and arguments--they are the most sought after, and the most reliable, agitators in their place of work and residence. Such comrades are soldiers of the party, always present at the frontline. Even when met with affronts or shrugs, they know that the ultimate truth is on our side. In time, their useful and courageous activities will win them recognition even among the present-day sneerers and unbelievers. In short, it has been a good experience.

We would like to enlarge this kind of propaganda aktiv, and thus to broaden the front of our ideological activists. It is also important to encourage them, to give them assistance, to back up their ideological motivation. Among other forms of rewarding and honoring their activities, especially coveted is the Marcin Kasprzak medal, introduced last year and awarded for "propagation and implementation of ideals of socialism." We can state with deep satisfaction that on this year's list of TRYBUNA LUDU laureates, the activists of our provincial organization were proudly represented.

When in the light of the 13th Plenum, we ponder about the road we have traveled, we would like to supplement the already achieved progress and the experience acquired, with criticism and search for reserves, and to add a new target, the higher achievement, to our already fulfilled duty. In the new year of ideological and political activity we would like, above all, to improve the network of party education. We consider as the most urgent our attempt to promote, according to the Statute, its genuinely obligatory character, and to achieve universal attendance and attractive forms. An innovative solution concerns the postgraduate studies initiated by us for party school lecturers. They follow the program prepared by the provincial center for ideological training and by the new Educational Techniques Department of the Pedagogic Institute at the Adam Michiewicz University.

After the 13th Plenum the slogan: "To demand more of oneself" should be broadened. It should include more than the mere requirement of personal integrity. It must be supplemented by the duty to display active resistance to all evil, to increase sensitivity and motivation to fight against evil. We are stressing this cause not for stylistic effect alone. Penetrating deeper into the essence of the spirit

of the 13th Plenum, we will recognize two mainstreams prevailing there. The first one involves the urgent need to step up our ideological offensive inside the party, in the consciousness and in the behavior of all its members. The other decisive mainstream provides a challenge and an injunction to maintain the unity of theory and practice, to put aside all the divergences between party ideology or its pronouncements and the real life. After all, the plenum's categorical demand to render the party and state apparatus more sensitive to social justice, has long-term consequences. It conditions all progress in restoring to the party its credibility, especially among the working class. Today people judge socialism, the state, and the party not from the vantage point of their programs or declarations, but according to the effects of sociopolitical and economic practice.

A malfunctioning, bureaucratized administration, arrogance and haughtiness, wastefulness and indolence, coteries and favoritism, social pathology, impunity of the neo-bourgeoisie public opinion tends to blame our system and our ideology for all that irritates the people. The party must therefore put itself at the front of the struggle, organize resistance against social evil. In other words, while remaining the ruling party, in face of all the evil, the injustice, and the distortions we have to act, in a sense, as an "opposition" party. Unless that happens, the opposition will penetrate all the loopholes and will organize resistance, in that case resistance against the party and against socialism.

Of particular significance, within the framework of party sensitivity to social justice, is the plenum's injunction to bring the party closer to the working people, to permanently open party committees to the working people. When the working people will realize that the party supports them, stands with them together in the fight against evil, the process of recovering social credibility will then become the natural crowning of such behavior. That is why we claim that, when an individual party member is concerned, personal integrity for internal, personal use, will not do anymore. At stake is our active and courageous fight against evil and injustice, above all at home, within one's reach.

The main task, derived from the resolutions of the 13th Plenum, provides for turning the ideology into a domain not exclusively of professionals and hobbyists, but of the broad party aktif, for engaging the broadest circles of our party in the struggle, in polemics against the adversary, for arming them with arguments and with courage to reveal their own faces and names. We address this demand in particular to the cadres of our teachers and educators, journalists and publicists, but this should be regarded against the background of building a cohesive front of ideological and educational influences.

The crux of the matter is, that not only party organizations or the military, but schools, universities, cultural institutions, and the media should properly understand and fulfill their educational assignments in order to become the mainstay of the homogenous front of instruction and education.

We are a major opinion-shaping center, nationwide.

The resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress, concerning the essence of our ideas on the social functions of the mass media, declares: "The party press should fight for everyday implementation of the ideological principles of socialism,

for the interests of the working class and of the working people; it should courageously combat all degeneration in social life, thus winning the society over for party policies and promoting its credibility. It should play an inspiring role in the life of party organizations, in the operation of the socialist state, and in the life of the society."

We treat journalists as welcome allies, people who consistently transmit the policy and the ideological message of the party to virtually all homes. The core of the journalist cadres consists of tested, ideologically faithful comrades, it includes laureates of various prizes, well known publicists and valuable social activists, cofounders of the Association of Journalists of the Policy People's Republic. We do not indulge, however, in self-confidence. We regard the promotion of their ideological allegiance as an urgent and permanent duty.

The allegiance to the party, in the Leninist meaning of the term, is synonymous with the ideological allegiance and the ancillary role of journalism.

We do not assess the party allegiance of the mass media according to the number of publications devoted to the party, especially since those are often guilty of stiffness and ridden with cliches; they describe the party as a deliberating body, instead of presenting the genuine activity of its basic organizations.

The journalists' duty is to follow the party, to support it in its recovery of social credibility.

Readers, listeners, and viewers would like to see a live party which combats evil. Do our newspapers reflect the real party's image adequately? What do editorial boards know about our party life, about the working class? We are convinced that journalists do not attend party meetings frequently enough, do not talk with workers, and therefore the party's image in the newspapers is unsatisfactory. It lacks grassroots contents, there are too few critical articles which pose the question: What is wrong? How to reanimate and reactivate the organization? There are no attempts to present the dramatics of the struggle waged by the party and its rank and file. The ongoing reports-elections campaign should give an impulse for a radical change in the way our mass media see the party.

In formulating political tasks, steadfastness does not mean impatience. The fight against the ravages in the social consciousness, against stupefaction and muddle which had been oozed into human minds by foreign and local centers of ideological diversion and aggressive propaganda, remains a long-term task.

In face of general frustration and undermined social credibility, the effectiveness of our propaganda has been temporarily restricted. Napoleon used to say that it was easier to win ten battles than to smash one myth. We say today that at present we need 10 faits accomplis to make people believe one word.

That is why, while promoting courageous, combative, creative criticism, and hunting and unmasking evil and injustice, we should eradicate the tones of despair, hopelessness, and half-hearted whimpering from our journalism; we should dare to cross over to propaganda which conforms to the spirit of reemerging optimism and hope.

The search for courageous, combative journalism, able to hunt the adversary and to engage him in polemical battles, remains, to a large extent, valid when cultural life is concerned. Here an ersatz area of ideological battle is often drawn up. Historical garb or far-fetched analogies provide a comfortable, and relatively safe haven for ideological contraband in trashy cabaret spectacles. In this domain vigilance and intransigence are targets still, far from being achieved. And in the meantime, as long as artists get involved in politics in their creative work, their activity should be unambiguously assessed in political terms. Unfortunately, in this respect our cultural publicists still behave in a passive and awed way; good critique remains in short supply.

We should proclaim a determined struggle against enemy insinuations concerning Poland as a cultural wasteland. The year of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland should provide a good, natural opportunity to reemphasize the genuine cultural accomplishments and civilization of progress of Poland and the Poles, it should be turned into a year of ideological, programmatic, and political offensive of the party in the artistic community.

It might be worthwhile to recall here the most pertinent remark, made by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski: "Overwhelmed by everyday burdens, we have surrendered to the enemy too large an area. Too often we excuse ourselves, too seldom however we pose our questions. Pretty words, such as 'freedom,' 'democracy,' or 'human rights,' are by themselves virtually meaningless, unless accompanied by an explanation, who do they actually serve, which class, which social group, what kind of state. It is not by coincidence that just such terms are being propagated by all those diversionary Western radio stations. We should therefore pose the question: Who pays for it, and why?"

A particularly important program of our training and educational front concerns its school and academic sectors. Unfortunately, a homogeneous and cohesive front of ideological and educational shaping of the younger generation still remains a postulate rather than reality. We still remember the recent years of propaganda operations and actual maiming of the younger generation's minds. We remember how, under cover of hypocritical slogans, various old and born-again champions of deceitful propaganda destroyed order and vulgarized the educational mission of our schools. We have put an end to open indoctrination which preyed on emotions and on political naivete of the youth, but here and there its reverberations have not yet become a closed chapter. In the meantime, the education of youth is too important an issue to approach it light-heartedly, or to surrender it to improper hands.

The 13th Plenum, and even before that, the national conference of young party activists, have put a high premium on the problem of our youth as an object and an addressee of our ideological and educational activity. The conference proved that the party has at its disposal a natural base, that our Polish youth is not confined to those who assume a passive and a wait-and-see attitude, that it does not consist exclusively of wheelers-dealers, cynics devoid of any principles, or frustrated people who blame everybody for not handing over to them whatever they would like to get immediately. It consists also, or rather above all, of those free from the lost-generation complex. Those who have defined themselves in ideological and political terms, who get involved in solving sociopolitical and economic problems. We should reach those young people, and work with them. The party needs them, and they need the party.

The scholarly and academic community presents another area of tension and ideological strife. We are watching there various trends and processes. With appreciation and respect we treat the ever growing circle of party and non-party scientific workers, the politically enlightened part of the academic youth, all those who assiduously and generously care for the good fortune of the academia, and pave the way for constructive progress.

We are, however, opposed to the workings of a handful of oppositionists among the scholarly cadre who politically manipulate part of the studying youth. The activities of the students' self-management at the Adam Michiewicz University are the effect and an example of such practices. We define and assess them unambiguously as such, in order to bring to their senses those students who are involved in such action, to turn them back from a false path, and to remind their prompters about their moral and civic responsibility for leading the youth along politically devious ways, for destroying the educational order in the universities of our socialist state.

Among such dishonorable practices one should also mention the transfer of political antipathies to evaluation of the scholarly abilities of those people who need a vote for their university promotion. In other words, the political struggle often assumes the form of "chic" blacklisting of people known for their socialist attitudes by means of a secret ballot.

We find here a specific sample of freedom, tolerance, and pluralism in their oppositional version. Hence, a wistful and critical reflection concerning our law on higher education seems here, unfortunately, most natural, and is caused by concern for our common cause.

Under such, far from normal, circumstances, the various echelons of sociopolitical sciences, as well as the attitudes of cadres employed there, their ideological allegiance, and political integration, seem to be a particularly sensitive spot. Along with tested, steadfast cadres of high scholarly abilities, we find, alas!, in this community plenty of imbalance, eclecticism, assuming positions of attentism and neutralism. It is a serious drawback which slows down development we should initiate and promote, in order to overcome the crisis phenomena in our universities.

The first step in the right direction would involve critical self-assessment by party organizations in our school and education network. Party organizations in schools should answer the question, Did they find their way to the younger generation, did the school, the university, the culture and its creators and institutions, find this way? As far as schools are concerned, the answer would involve appropriate reading of the message issued by the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, which has postulated the return to the sources of Marxism and of scientific socialism, to the genesis of the Polish Workers' movement. In school education this injunction assumes a concrete way which would amount--to put it vividly--to the reintroduction of Marx, Engels, and Lenin to our schools. The propagation and dissemination of their teachings should be skillfully integrated in the curriculum. Putting this idea forward, we have no intention whatsoever of obtrusive politicization of the curricula.

What we do have in mind, is the establishment of a permeable system which would supply young Poles with a quantum of original Marxist knowledge as a positive material substance for education and for shaping civic maturity, as an insurance against the impact of myth and deception. Certainly, this should not be done by force or by simplification, especially since many people believe, even today, that if only our young people would get to know Marxism, if only they would verbally assimilate the values and the standards of socialism, if only they would take part in various actions, festivities, and functions--this would bring desirable results. Such an outlook, inter alia, provides the ground for the shortcomings in our educational work. Assimilation of Marxist ideas cannot be limited to the mastery of dry, factographical stuff. It is the confrontation between theory and practice, between ideas and reality, that we miss in our educational and ideological work with the young; we miss the search for the sources of conflicts. Educators and propagandists often run away from sensitive issues raised by the young. This has bad consequences. It discourages young people from raising social, ideological, historical, and political issues which rattle them, or sets in motion answers which go beyond the scholarly Marxist interpretation.

In our ideological and educational work we often tend to forget that even the most obvious truth is not simply being handed over to new generations. Every generation has to acquire the truth anew, on its own. Each generation reaches socialism in its own specific way; Lenin pointed it out as far back as in 1916. His statement has not lost its meaning. Hence the question arises, How effectively to teach, to disseminate, and to propagate Marxism among the young, how to bind the youth to socialism by intellectual and emotional ties? In this respect we are still on the defensive.

Obviously, verbal knowledge and popularization of Marxism are not enough. The creation of permanent links between knowledge and behavior, the identification with the ideals and ethical patterns of socialism, still remain the most important factor in propagation and teaching of Marxism. Appropriate curriculum is only the starting point. The key to their inculcation lies in the hands of the teaching cadres.

After the period of political confusion teachers better understand their educational mission, and that of the school as a whole. Only at the edges of their community some disorientation, duplicity, or opposition, continue to roam. For the overwhelming majority of the teaching cadres, their characteristic features include civic discipline, ideological allegiance, and good personal example. The elementary premise, that in a socialist school there is no place for anti-communists and incorrigible adversaries, begins to be accepted as an obvious truth.

And no wonder: in our case, too, the respect for the ideological orientation in the schools and their curricula cannot be regarded as outdated.

Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski said at the 13th Plenum: "the big ideological issues, discussed at the present plenum, will reemerge as social reality, as social practice and climate, only if they will be understood, accepted, and assimilated by every party member, if they will turn him into the defender, advocate, and implementor of our general line..." Having this in mind, we would like to proceed consistently and steadfastly in this direction.

The Poznan Provincial Committee Plenum, held in November 1983, produced many assessments and motions which have enriched our work.

In particular, we expect a lot from implementation of a motion concerning creation of a party task force of scholarly workers, and integration around our provincial committee of all the previously scattered representatives of the Marxist social sciences. The motion to bring together Marxist historians in order to prepare a textbook for history of the Polish People's Republic, to present the achievements of Wielkopolska in connection with the 40th anniversary of the People's Republic, and to undertake the task of researching and elucidating all the problems hitherto insufficiently or simplistically presented in our historical literature, is by now being implemented. We are discussing the proposal to establish a postgraduate study of the USSR and of other socialist countries, affiliated to the Institute for Political Science at the Adam Mickiewicz University.

In short, we aim at a fruitful integration of the dynamics and capacities of our leading theoreticians, publicists, and propagandists, in order to advance the theoretical accomplishments of the party, to defend and to propagate its ideological arguments, to increase the efficiency of our actions, and to hone their demystifying and polemical edge. We consider it our duty and our chance.

12485
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POLAND

MEANS OF COMBATING SOCIAL PATHOLOGY DESCRIBED

Warsaw ODRODZENIE in Polish No 12, 20 Mar 84 p 10

[Article by Danuta Frey: "Repression, Persuasion and--Policy"]

[Text] That which we now call social pathology, formerly was simply the social fringe. But anyone who believes that this is only a matter of semantics and does not also consider the different conditions is mistaken. Measuring statistically, the degree of threat does not appear today to be greater than it was several years ago. But measuring in terms of social attitudes, we get exactly the opposite impression.

According to data compiled by the Crime Bureau of the Citizens Militia (MO) Main Headquarters, the largest number of crimes committed thus far in the 40-year postwar period was recorded during 1961-1970. At that time the number was over 500,000 annually, and the peak, 549,000 crimes, was reached in 1966. Last year, with, of course, a much larger population, the number of crimes disclosed fluctuated at around 500,000. Measuring statistically, therefore, the degree of danger does not appear to be greater than it was several years ago. But measuring in terms of social attitudes, we get exactly the opposite impression. The societywide sense of security is diminishing, and very distinctly, and the conviction that crime is currently growing in Poland at an unprecedented rate is spreading.

After the "peak" 1960's, during the years following (1971-1980) the previously unfavorable tendencies reversed themselves, and along with that, the number of crimes dropped. The renewed increase during 1980-1983 surprised society in a certain sense, just as the crisis, with which it is connected to a large degree, also surprised it. Col Zbigniew Jablonski, director of the MO Main Headquarters Crime Bureau: "The state of the country's security in 1983 deteriorated greatly as a result of crime, both in relation to 1982 and as compared with the 1970's. Despite the fact that crime indexes per 100,000 population are lower here than in a number of Western countries, and are comparable with Hungary and Czechoslovakia (the crime index per 100,000 population in Poland last year was 1,274, compared to 1,227 in Hungary and 1,170 in Czechoslovakia), a number of unfavorable tendencies have appeared or have intensified.

Everything Is Being Stolen

Losses caused by crimes were estimated last year to amount to over 11 billion zlotys. That was 50 percent higher than in 1982. The homicide rate has remained stable, about 500 annually. The number of robberies is increasing, especially robberies of elderly persons, and cases of torture of victims are also increasing. More and more gang rapes are being recorded, and with extreme cruelty. Alcoholism is not decreasing and every fourth crime is committed under the influence of alcohol. Drug addiction is on the rise, and the persons involved are younger and younger. Prostitution, and social parasitism, encompassing people who do not go to school and do not work, is increasing. Cases of organized crime in Poland are beginning to appear, although sporadically at the moment--crime of an international character such as smuggling of drugs or works of art, and symptoms of terrorist activity (airplane hijacking).

Most of the danger today lies in the prevalence and degree of increase of crime against property. It is worst of all in this regard on the railroads, where 15,000 thefts were recorded last year, and losses amounted to over 500 million zlotys. Entire gangs operate here, in which not only the railroad employees participate but the Railroad Security Guards. The rate of speed is slowed down to a snail's pace, the trains are pushed off onto sidings, or frequent stops are made on the tracks, during which the trains are burglarized. Thefts from the mails have become a scourge. Thefts of construction materials have increased. At the Zeran Automobile Factory there was a shortage recently of several thousand batteries and tires. Fifteen tractors were stolen from the Ursus Tractory Factory. Last year 660 burglaries of churches were recorded, where the loot consisted mainly of works of art and objects of great value.

But the decline in the sense of security has been most deeply affected by the fact that as distinct from the crime of the 1960's, which was directed mainly against public property, the crime of the 1980's more and more affects the individual directly. By the end of last year over 36,000 burglaries and robberies of private homes were recorded. Property valued at over 3 billion zlotys was stolen. These were primarily items which cannot, under today's conditions, be replaced. The recovery rate of the stolen goods dropped from 23 percent in 1982 to scarcely 10 percent last year. Only 50 percent of the culprits of thefts and robberies from private homes were apprehended. Not only are houses robbed, but also automobiles. The sales of stolen automobile accessories are flourishing. Shortages on the marketplace and high prices mean that that which was lost cannot be replaced, and this breeds a new form of receiver of stolen goods. In this incredibly depleted marketplace, any kind of goods can be found, without a fence, and this, too, encourages criminals.

Limited Possibilities

--But if this increase in crime, on an aggregate scale and in certain categories, is a fact, then the question arises whether, and by what means, we can combat it --says the director of the Criminal Procedures Department in the Prosecutor General's Office, Dr Stanislaw Wyciszczak.

According to the militia and the prosecutor's office, the present increase in crime and its structure are due primarily to the crisis. Never before have we had to cope with so many negative economic, social and moral aspects all at the same time. The disordered market, the drastic shortages of consumer goods, the high rate of inflation, and the decline in the standard of living are only some of the symptoms. If we add to that also the disordered state of a number of institutional mechanisms, the reevaluation of a number of ideas, the crisis in public awareness and moral attitudes, and the appearance of an entire series of social plagues--this entire crime scene may appear to us to be insurmountable, both from the standpoint of combating it and preventing it.

--If we talk about a social pathology, we must realize that many bad situations can only be resolved through the economic sphere. Until the economy improves greatly, a number of measures undertaken will only be half-measures--says attorney Zygmunt Skoczek from Attorney Group No 6 in Warsaw.

Prof Dr Brunon Holyst, director of the Institute on Crime Problems, adds: Essentially there are three ways in which the size and scope of the negative aspects can be reduced: repression, persuasion, and social policy. I believe that social policy is the most effective.

But we have no large field of maneuver, either in the area of the economic situation or in social policy. The size of the needs and the limited possibilities means that any measures taken will never be enough to solve the problem. Is repression, therefore, our only solution?

--The call for more severe repression in the 1960's led to verdicts of death in two cases dealing with crooked business deals. But, aside from all of the other ramifications, did these sentences help to reduce crime?--says attorney Skoczek. --There are many causes of crime, which require application of various different kinds of measures. Faith in punishment alone is not enough.

Where Do We Begin?

According to Col Tadeusz Trzcinski, deputy commanding officer of the Citizens' Militia, in 1984 there will be more uniformed militia and more militia patrols on the streets, particularly at the times and in the places that are considered most dangerous. In addition, all ZOMO [Motorized Detachments of the Citizens' Militia] officials will be assigned to preventive duty. --The presence of the MO patrols should have a positive effect on the state of order in public places.

According to Col Trzcinski, the militia also intends to ensure that the neighborhood stations are functioning properly and will relieve them of various clerical duties. Special attention must also be given to self-defense against criminals. We have already begun to print leaflets warning people against robberies and thefts from dwellings and automobiles and advising them of suitable preventive measures. The periodicals, radio and television should play a large part in this.

But any campaigns, or emergency or long-range actions pursued by the militia against crime cannot be regarded as the sole, or even a basic, remedy.

Social pathology is made up of many aspects today, such as adult and juvenile crime, alcoholism, drug addiction, prostitution, and social parasitism. There are separate programs for preventing and combating each of them. But so far there has been no joint program covering all of these areas, a program encompassing many different measures.

That is one issue. The other is the fact that many of these plans, to name just one, for example, the draft program for social prevention, titled "The Prevention and Combating of Signs of Social Pathology Among Children and Youth", developed by the education and upbringing office, often contain only the total postulates, which although correct, are frequently not very realistic under present conditions. Programs for combating social pathology, standing alone, cannot be effective if there is no adequate financial backing, or facilities are not available for the treatment and rehabilitation of drug addicts, to say nothing about alcoholics, or there are no cadre (the family courts alone urgently need over 10,000 guardians for minors), or properly set-up social and post-penitentiary care. Nor should any special hopes be placed in the law on procedures against persons refusing to work. Studies conducted late last year by the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs showed that implementation of the law, as, of course, could have been predicted, is questionable.

Last December a Council of Ministers Committee for Matters Dealing with the Observance of Law, Public Order and Social Discipline was appointed. It seems to be the best platform for the development finally of a uniform, comprehensive, but most of all realistic program for the prevention of the spreading of social pathology and the combating of it. The committee should, first of all, establish a ranking of the needs and the measures for implementation, and coordinate the tasks of the individual institutions and organizations. The entire gamut of various preventive proposals and basis assumptions of penal policy should be reflected here.

At present, various, frequently conflicting tendencies collide with one another in this policy, which weakens the effectiveness of the actions taken and causes them to be diffused and incohesive. However, I cannot imagine that this kind of program could be developed without a relevant and objective, emotion-free, assessment of the current situation and the crime-producing factors appearing in it, and without similar forecasts for the future. Simply to say that these forecasts do no good is absolutely not enough.

These assessments--perhaps in the form of a report?--should be prepared by theoreticians and practitioners of law, sociologists and other experts on social problems. It seems to me also that opinions and comments expressed in various circles, comments which PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] could collect and send on, are essential. Particularly since it was PRON which already in its program resolution passed at the PRON First Congress declared that its important tasks include an attack on social plagues--alcoholism, drug addiction, crime, and other negative phenomena.

Of course, at this point everyone can shout that in order to prevent and combat crime under the currently complex conditions, a much broader range of action is needed, mainly in the economic and social area. And that a program alone is not enough. That is true, but, after all, one has to begin somewhere.

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The article incorporates statements expressed at a seminar on social pathology, organized by the Press, Radio and Television Department of the PZPR Central Committee and the Journalism Center in Zabor on 22-24 February 1984.

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CATHOLIC WEEKLY EXAMINES FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

Warsaw LAD in Polish No 10, 11 Mar. 84 p 3

[Article by Maciej M. Letowski: "What Will Become of Poland?" Passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /Do Poles in 1984 have a vision of Poland extending beyond the next few months or years, spanning a generation or even several generations?/ Do the intellectual and social elites or society at large have such a vision? I do not know any sociological studies which would give us an answer to these questions. Thus one must limit oneself to subjective guesses and feelings, based on a personal understanding of the situation.

In my personal view, the answer to these questions is negative. /I believe that neither society at large nor the intellectual and social elites have a cohesive and comprehensive vision of Poland/.

What are the reasons for this? The thinking of the broad masses of society is determined by the deep political and economic crisis. Daily efforts to maintain one's material and social status leave no room for thoughts about the fate of future generations. At the most, the fear of losing this status generates a tendency to extrapolate the difficulties of the present to the near and more remote future. This is expressed in the common belief that /since things are bad today, they will be bad in the future and because one sees no possibility for prosperity in the coming months and years, one does not believe there will be prosperity for our successors either/.

It can be understood that society at large thinks in this way. More worrisome is that such thinking has also been displayed by the intellectual and social elites, which ought to be formulating views more critical, less superficial and immediate, and less bound by the limitations and dependencies of the present. /The natural role of the elites is to create visions and sometimes social utopias/ (in the sociological and qualitative sense). /The Polish intelligentsia does not meet this obligation in a proper way/. It is turned toward the past rather than the future and limits itself to the criticism of the current status. This is important as a point of departure, but cannot serve as goal in itself.

The above evaluation applies only to the lack of a /comprehensive/ vision of future fate of Poland and Poles. On the other hand, in current writings one can find a number of postulates or partial visions:

--Polish thinking about the future is characterized by the importance of foreign policy and of tying Poland's fate to the international situation. Apart from political or ideological differences, there is basic agreement with regard to the opinion that /the safeguarding of world peace is a condition of the prosperity of future generations/. Poles no longer pray for a "general war," as they did in the past century, a war which would create conditions for the realization of the just aspirations of the nation.

Basically, the dispute between the "eastern orientation" and the "western orientation" has been played out. /The eastern orientation/, which in the first period after the war was embraced by the Polish left and some circles in the nationalistic camp, /is currently dominant in our society and its thinking about the future/. The belief that it is the only guarantee of maintaining Poland's western frontier strengthens this orientation.

--Acceptance of Poland's affiliation with the political East does not eliminate the problem of the place and role which Poland can and ought to play in this part of the world. /The ambition of strengthening the international position of the state and its cultural identity within the framework of the alliances binding us is strongly expressed/.

--There also are expectations voiced that the Poland of the future will be a country of /complete religious tolerance, a lay state, neutral with regard to the differences in the world outlook of its citizens, a state in which both the believers and non-believers will in fact have the same rights and obligations, and the same possibilities of advancement and of influencing the country's destiny/.

--Poles traditionally regard themselves as /intermediaries between the civilizations of the East and West/. While belonging to the Mediterranean Latin (civilization), they also abundantly took from the achievements of the civilization of the East. This role ought to be consolidated and strengthened in the future.

--Poles express strong adherence to the principles of /equality, justice and law-abidingness/.

/In sum, the Poland of the future appears as a sovereign state, pluralistic with regard to world outlook and culture, democratic, decentralized (self-governing), open to external contacts, multi-class and multi-group, pluralistic with regard to the means of production (land ownership consolidated in the hands of peasant family farms, a developed crafts sector and small and medium-size manufacturing and cooperatives), law-abiding, just and egalitarian/.

On the basis of such a future vision, people of different ideological orientations and world outlooks can meet and cooperate, I believe. For some it will be the realization of the values of socialism, for others, the values of Christian humanism.

/Which social forces are active on behalf of such a vision of Poland and which are counteracting it?/ I do not think that one could refer here to class divisions in our society. The dividing line cuts differently, across classes, social groups and the political structures representing them. Three trends can be pointed out here:

--/The radical trend/. It is favored by those who /would like a fast and comprehensive change of the current social and political reality/. They aim at introducing in Poland a democratic-bourgeois model, namely, "turning back the wheel of history." I believe that one should neither underestimate nor overestimate the impact the adherents to these views have. However, they will not be determining the future shape of Polish civilization.

--/The reformist trend/. The followers of this trend aim at /essential transformations of the economic and political-legal model while preserving the constitutional principles of the political system of People's Poland/. Broad masses of peasantry, workers and intelligentsia are interested in these transformations. These social groups see in these reforms an opportunity for themselves to obtain broader possibilities of action, the realization of their ambitions and an increase in their subjectivity.

--/The conservative trend/. There exists a strong group of conservative forces which are /content with the existing order and in the changes see a threat to their positions, their prestige and their influences/. The developed class of the economic and administrative bureaucracy, genetically deriving from all social classes, is the mainstay of this stay.

/The future of Poland will eventually depend on the array of forces between the reformist and the conservative trends. [----] [Law of 31 July 1981 on the control of publications and shows, art 2, point 1 and 2 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)]/.

/The reformer must be aware of the role which the time factor plays in social processes/. There are periods when reforms, if they are undertaken early enough and if they outpace the aspirations of active social groups, stabilize the political-legal order. Reforms undertaken too late, when social aspirations have outpaced them, are viewed as a symptom of weakness and an encouragement to press for further changes, including the questioning of the political-legal order.

/The reformer must also be aware that a reform "gives something" to certain social groups and at the same time "takes away something" from other social groups. Thus a reform cannot be achieved without conflicts/. In the first phase of the changes, the conservative forces will still be strong and will intensely defend their positions. Groups which can objectively gain from the changes will remain suspicious and not totally convinced, and therefore unable to constitute a force on which the reformer can rely. Only with time, as they start trusting the reformer's intentions, will they support him. This period is particularly difficult and politically risky for the reformer, because he loses the confidence of the conservative forces without winning

strong support from the reformist forces. It cannot be avoided, however. The only thing that can be done is shorten this phase of the reform process to the minimum.

Poland faces the necessity of the adaptation of her civilization to the world around her. If she does not achieve it, she will remain in the "civilizational depression" with all its negative results. /Poland is already behind in the race not only with the world's most developed and industrialized countries, but has also began to lose the race in her own, socialist environment. In this corner of Europe there is no room for a sick country whose civilization lags, even in favorable alliances/. These alliances can be, at most, a certain protection in the moment of a passing weakness. In the perspective of future generations, Poland's "to be or not to be" depends entirely on its economic strength and internal, political and systemic stability.

/How to release the energy of Poles, how to make them aware of the drama of the situation in which Poland has found itself? There is only one way: to tell them the whole truth, a truth difficult for themselves, but also difficult for those in power. Only then will they believe/.

What is needed is a far-reaching vision, as well as direct action. A politician cannot talk about great goals and wonderful future, while forgetting about the solutions of immediate problems. On the other hand, he cannot act the other way around, either.

/Temporary moves ought to be seen as steps toward the remote goal/. We must say to ourselves: "That is our goal. Today, taking into consideration the circumstances, we shall make a small, first step in that direction. We cannot afford more steps. We shall return to the problem in a year or two." And in a year or two we must return to it!

/Moreover, those single moves should not be given excessive publicity/. (...)
People can think for themselves.

It happens sometimes that stepping backward is necessary, when the needs of the day require that the solutions which we wanted must be abandoned. A politician must sometimes act in this way. Nevertheless, it must also be openly said and justified. This promotes credibility better than propagandist assurances that "nothing has changed in our policy" and that the step backward is in fact a step forward. People can think for themselves.

/Can such actions win the Poles over and set their energy in motion? Perhaps, although there is no complete certainty. It is certain, however, that by acting otherwise one surely will not win Poles over and will not release their energy./

12270
CSO: 2600/811

POLAND

NATIONWIDE REACTION TO PZPR CONFERENCE NOTED

Conference Observers Speak Out

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Mar 84 pp 1, 2

[Text] The National Conference of PZPR Delegates that ended on Sunday met with lively interest, not only among party members, but among all of society. The initial reactions and remarks of the following were polled by TRYBUNA LUDU.

[Pawel Biedrzycki, equipment operator at the Gdansk Chemical Plants:]

It was documented at the conference that in spite of the various situations that have occurred over these 2 and 1/2 years, the PZPR has not shifted away from the line adopted at the Ninth Congress and is implementing solidly the program passed at that time. Both society and the party itself required that such a balance sheet be set up of achievements and matters to be resolved, an accounting that sorted out the issues and enabled an objective assessment of Poland's situation.

In my opinion, the general dissemination of the program declaration and discussion over the party's long-range program will be especially important. I am convinced that this will be a very creative discussion, since it affords much time for honestly and calmly considering the particular issues.

[Helena Wisniewska, teacher, Poznan:]

While I do not belong to the party, it is my duty as a teacher to bring up children to be good citizens of the socialist state. That is why broad notions of social justice and law and order are important to me. The implementation of the conference resolutions will serve this issue. The course of the deliberations gave me the strong impression that the party is aiming resolutely toward the full implementation of both the economic reform, for one of its goals is to strengthen and stabilize the country's economy, and, as has been strongly underscored, its efforts to battle waste, corruption, speculation and the excessive accumulation of wealth, usually in dishonest ways.

[Wojciech Stachowiak, PZPR KZ [Plant Committee] secretary at the Kalisz PZL [Polish Aviation Plants] WSK [Transportation Equipment Plant]:]

In my opinion and in the opinion of my comrades at work, major emphasis should be placed on the honest assessment of phenomena in our country's social and economic life following the Ninth Congress. This was a basic feature of the KC [Central Committee] Politburo report presented at the conference. It contained no insinuations or camouflage. Both the pluses and minuses of our daily life were expressed. Hence the credibility of the report materials.

The discussion was rational and included comments on the negative phenomena taking place in our country. Progress in many fields of our economy is evident. It would still be greater if the economic aktiv, made up mostly of party members, implemented the Ninth Congress resolutions more effectively.

[Jozef Krasinski, machinist at the Koszalin Industrial Construction Enterprise:]

The issues dominating the National Conference of PZPR Delegates truly were those that are dear to the hearts of workers. This being the case, our task now is to prove by our actions that we will uphold these issues. If all party elements really will be guided by these instructions, I am certain that they will receive more and more support from the working class.

Trade unions, the employee self-government and party organizations are the nucleus of the workers' democracy in the plant. They must gain the real support of all party authorities, beginning from the gmina [parish] or city committee and ending with the KC. Sometimes the administration works better in party committees than the POP [primary party organization]. This must change.

Workers Volunteer Services

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Mar 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by: J.R.: "More for the Country and for Ourselves"; material enclosed between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] (Own information) The party's appeal is: let us work more productively and let us achieve more. Reports coming in from many parts of the country both during the National Conference of PZPR Delegates and now, after its conclusion, confirm that it is through improved work results that provisions have been made at many plants to express support for the conference deliberations and results.

According to party echelons and TRYBUNA LUDU correspondents, the initiatives undertaken by workforces are based on a realistic assessment of potential and express the desire to support the PZPR Ninth Congress program line through real production and social actions and not through moves calculated to produce an effect. Here are some of the specifics.

/At the PKP [Polish State Railways] locomotive shed in Sedziszow/(Kielce Voivodship), the workforce proposed increased steam engine repairs in conjunction with the deliberations of the National Conference of PZPR Delegates. Thirty employees worked overtime to erect a platform at a section of track on the Sulfur-Metalworks Line. Yet another example from this same voivodship: /the regional postal-communications office in Jedrzejow / pledged to connect a housing development to the telephone network 3 weeks earlier.

/From Gdansk/ we received news that the crew of the ship "Barakuda" worked overtime to complete nautical surveying-mapmaking work in excess of planned work.

/In Chodecz/ in the Wloclawek Voivodship, employees of the State Breeding Center proposed repairing a bus for a local school without charge.

/In the Lublin Voivodship,/ party members from TRANSBUD II worked on the work-free Saturday of 17 March and party members from the GS [Rural Commune Cooperative] in Jeziorany volunteered to work on the 16th and 17th of March to set in order a building site and warehouses. In the gmina of Orzen in the Ciechanow Voivodship, the initiative of party members led to the construction of a PKS [State Motor Transport] stop and a road.

/Railway workers from Krotoszyn in the Kalisz Voivodship/ embarked upon work to improve the social/everyday living conditions of the workforce and to raise the level of the pleasantness and cleanliness of work stations. Likewise at the Czajkowo GS in this voivodship, employees volunteered to work on projects to tidy things up.

At the PREFABET Plant in Reda (Gdansk Voivodship), at a production plant, an added 300 cubic meters of gas concrete was produced.

Yet another concrete effect attained thanks to last Saturday's work: /at the EMA Sheet-iron Works Electro-Metallurgical Plant in the Czestochowa Voivodship, on 17 March extra production was executed valued at more than 4 million zlotys./

In this same voivodship, the POM [State Repair Shops] workforce in Klobuck, on the initiative of the POP, proposed working on work-free Saturdays through the end of the month to execute additional production and services valued at 210 million zlotys.

On the initiative of the POP and the production cooperative administration in Bylczyce in the Konin Voivodship, public efforts were enlisted to clean up a park and to repair a PKS stop, for a combined value of 150,000 zlotys.

/The material value of the production and social tasks undertaken in conjunction with the National Conference of PZPR Delegates varies. However, all of these tasks have in common the will to express in action support for the party's major goals, for the changes in our life inspired by the party./

Delegates Meet With Co-workers

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Mar 84 pp 1, 2

[Reports by M. Kaca, K. Zygmund and T. Kajan; material enclosed between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] (Own information and PAP report) The proceedings and the results of the just concluded Warsaw National Conference of PZPR Delegates are, understandably, a most important topic for discussion and reflection. This emanates from the feeling that the conference, which passed important documents, outlined the directions for future activities stepping up the implementation of Ninth PZPR Congress resolutions, the aptness and validity of whose line have been confirmed by the experiences of recent years.

On 19 March, the day following the conference, local TRYBUNA LUDU correspondents and a PAP reporter recorded the typical manifestations of interest from these deliberations and reported on their meetings with conference participants.

/Joint meetings of the delegates of voivodship party organizations immediately following the return from Warsaw were the rule. At these meetings, the operating schedule for meetings in the particular communities and the topics of priority importance to be submitted to party members were determined./ During the meeting of the Piotrkow Voivodship delegates, it was determined that each delegate would meet at least three times with workforce representatives. It was known, however, that the number of such meetings would be considerably higher, since the interest in the atmosphere and results of the conference is universal. These meetings are also taking on the form of open party meetings, discussions in production divisions and community meetings.

In Radom

/All of the Radom delegates--there were 29 that took part in the National Conference of PZPR Delegates--have held their first discussions with workforces and the social aktiv of the communities that they represent./

Zofia Grzyb, member of the KC Politburo, spoke at a meeting with the workforce of RADOSKOR on the sincere atmosphere of the National Conference, the dominance of the worker current during deliberations and the restoration to socialism of its grandeur through the announcement of the practical implementation of the principles of social justice. Present at the meeting were members of a delegation from the city of Burg in the GDR that carries on a friendship with RADOSKOR.

During the early morning hours, delegates from WALTER, first secretary of the PZPR KZ [Plant Committee] Edward Bajda and Lech Buczowski shared their reflections from the conference with OOP [district party organization] secretaries. They spoke of the issues brought up in issues groups in which

they took part--issues of ideology and representative organizations alike. Edward Bajda took the floor during the discussion and spoke out in favor of closer cooperation based upon the concretization of powers of employee councils and enterprise union organizations.

Delegates from the Bialobrzegi region Wojciech Rzeczkowski and Kazimierz Czech were invited to share their reflections from the conference at a meeting of the participants in the PORZADEK [Order] public campaign. Wojciech Rzeczkowski took part in a POP meeting in Wysmierzyce during the afternoon hours.

[Signed] M. Kaca

Sieradz

We asked Dr Zbigniew Grundmeyer, CKR [Central Review Commission] member, upon his return from the National Conference of PZPR Delegates: "How do your closest colleagues and fellow comrades at work greet you?"

/" Above all, they ask many questions: are the authorities really interested in improving the health service situation, do the authorities receive word of the problems and the concerns of doctors and nurses? I explain that much depends upon us ourselves, on the quality of our work. Certainly, this was no revelation, but we also spoke of these issues at the conference./

"There were many questions regarding the mood of the conference and the deliberations. I underscored the atmosphere of sincerity in what was said. No one had to fear that anyone would be offended if he told the truth. Thus, everyone was able to give his real impressions. Everyone was listened to attentively. I made an evaluation of what has been done in the health service over these 2 years. I am of the opinion that a great deal has been done.

"At the Ninth PZPR Congress held 2 and 1/2 years ago, I presented the main thoughts, demands and directions of action of the party in the health services sector," said Dr Zbigniew Grundmeyer. "That is why I took part in the work of the health and environmental protection commission at the National Conference."

/"Of course, many issues must still be resolved. All of the proposals and recommendations that have been worked out are included in the materials and documents that serve as a plan of operation of the party and all of its members for the coming years."/

[Signed] K. Zygmund

Zielona Gora

A meeting of the party-economic aktiv of Zielona Gora was held in conjunction with the participation of those that had attended the National Conference of PZPR Delegates: Jerzy Dabrowski, first KW [Voivodship Committee] secretary and Zbigniew Nieminski and Karol Zurawowicz, as well as invited guests to the Warsaw deliberations, Col Walerian Mikolajczak--Zielona Gora voivodship governor and Sejm deputy Wiktor Gruca--first secretary of the KZ at the Zielona Gora ZASTAL Plant.

/In their opinions, the conference documented the fact that the important process of the party's unification is taking place. This guarantees that the process of renewal and the work of reform will continue./ The crisis must be surmounted. At the same time, however, care must be taken to ensure that no one blames himself for it and that the stratum of the nouveau riche does not feed off the crisis. This call for social justice on an everyday basis and in daily interpersonal relations was reflected at the conference, in the opinion of the delegates.

/The Zielona Gora post-conference meeting focused on the issue of finding solutions to the devastating concerns of city life. The party must take care to see that the problems and tensions are recognized in time and that remedial action is taken./

It was stated that the achievements and the spirit of the conference are both our political capital and our duty, that there is no more important issue for working people than for the role of the workers party to be performed with honor and effectively.

Similar conclusions were drawn at the post-conference meeting held with the political-economic aktiv in Zagan by Stanisława Brewinska, member of the CKR Presidium. She said that the achievements of the conference must be solidly ingrained into party ranks. This was an important survey of ideological and organizational fitness, whose results must reach the broad circles of working people through the individual activism of members and through the revitalization and return to the offensive of POP's and party echelons.

[Signed] T. Kajan

Katowice

/Meetings with delegates took place in many Katowice Voivodship plants./ Zygmunt Brach, a strip mill worker, was the delegate from the FLORIAN Steel-works. He met with trade union representatives who asked detailed questions about the issues discussed during the deliberations, particularly with regard to the partnerly cooperation of party organizations and trade unions.

Poznan

The meetings of delegates in the most industrialized quarter of Poznan, Nowe Miasto, were characterized by lively discussions. Stanisław Kalkus, PZPR KC Politburo member and delegate of the workers from the H. Cegielski Metals Industry Plant, likewise took part in these meetings. Many vital problems of working people were discussed during the meetings of the workers' aktiv of the quarter with the secretaries of manufacturing plant party organizations. (PAP)

8536
CSO: 2600/864

CIVIL DEFENSE SERVICE UNIFORMS SPECIFIED

Warsaw MONITOR POLSKI in Polish No 1, 20 Jan 84 pp 3-6

[Text of item 3, Council of Ministers Resolution No 198, dated 30 December 1983, on the style and color of civil defense uniforms]

[Text] On the basis of art 165 par 2 of the law dated 21 November 1967 on the universal obligation to defend the Polish People's Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1979, No 18, item 111, 1983, No 41, item 185 and No 61, item 278) the Council of Ministers resolves as follows:

§ 1. The resolution specifies the style of color of uniforms for:

- 1) members of youth labor battalions on regular duty in civil defense detachments:
 - a) in Volunteer Labor Brigades,
 - b) formed in the office of national defense as technical rescue and repair-construction detachments;
- 2) persons undergoing conscript training and civil defense drills,
- 3) persons on active duty in civil defense during wartime.

§ 2. 1. The uniform of persons on civil defense duty is composed of a drill uniform and a dress uniform.

2. The drill uniform includes the following items:

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------------|
| 1) beret | (10) drill gloves |
| 2) fur cap | (11) high buckle shoes |
| 3) drill blouse | (12) webbed belt |
| 4) drill trousers | |
| 5) drill jacket | |
| 6) shirt | |
| 7) tie | |
| 8) scarf | |
| 9) socks | |

3. The dress uniform includes the items listed in par 2, pts 1 and 2, and 6-9, and in addition:

- 1) dress blouse
- 2) dress trousers
- 3) dress jacket
- 4) dress gloves
- 5) low-quarter shoes

4. Only members of youth labor battalions on regular duty in civil defense attachments are entitled to a dress uniform.

§ 3. 1. The uniform items listed in § 2, par 2, pts 1-10 and 12 and in § 2, par 3, pts 1-4, are navy blue in color; the remaining items are black.

2. The styles of the uniform items listed in § 2, par 2, pts 1-5 and in § 2, par 3, pts 1-3, are illustrated in the attachment to the resolution.

§ 4. 1. The costs of procuring uniforms for the persons specified in § 1, pts 2 and 3, are covered by the units which are required to muster them out of the budgetary funds provided for this purpose in the central budget and territorial budgets within the limits of defense expenditures, as provided for the financing of national defense tasks.

2. The costs of furnishing uniforms to the members of youth labor battalions referred to in § 1, pt 1, are covered according to principles specified in separate regulations.

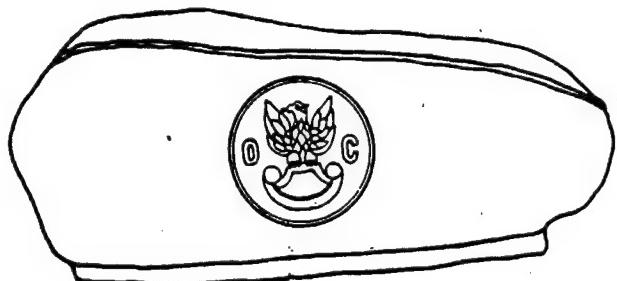
§ 5. The style and color of uniforms of persons performing service in civil defense detachments formed by the chief commander of the Fire Department, in facility protection detachments and in firefighting detachments formed in the office of national defense and in civil defense detachments formed by ministers in workplaces of special importance to national defense or the defense of the population is specified in separate regulations.

§ 6. The resolution becomes effective on the day it is announced.

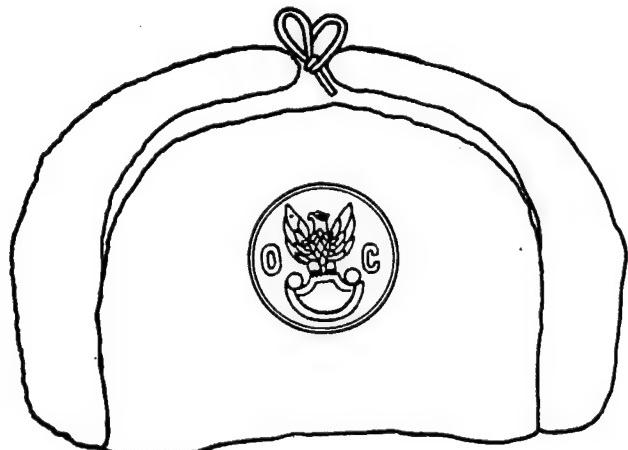
Chairman of the Council of Ministers: General of the Army W. Jaruzelski

Attachment to Council of Ministers Resolution No 198, dated 30 December 1983 (item 3). [Sketches of uniform items on following pages]

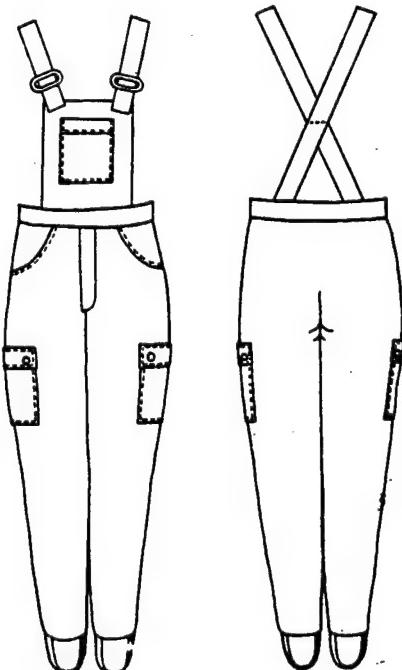
Style of Civil Defense Uniforms



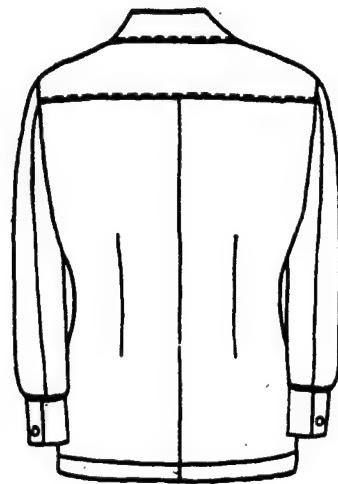
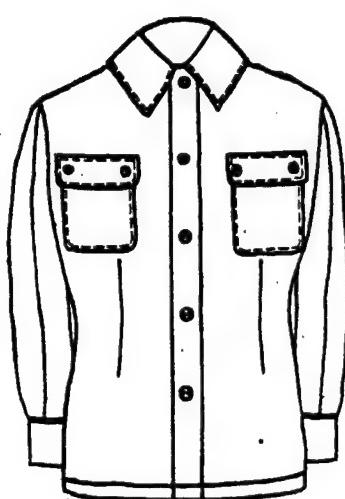
Beret



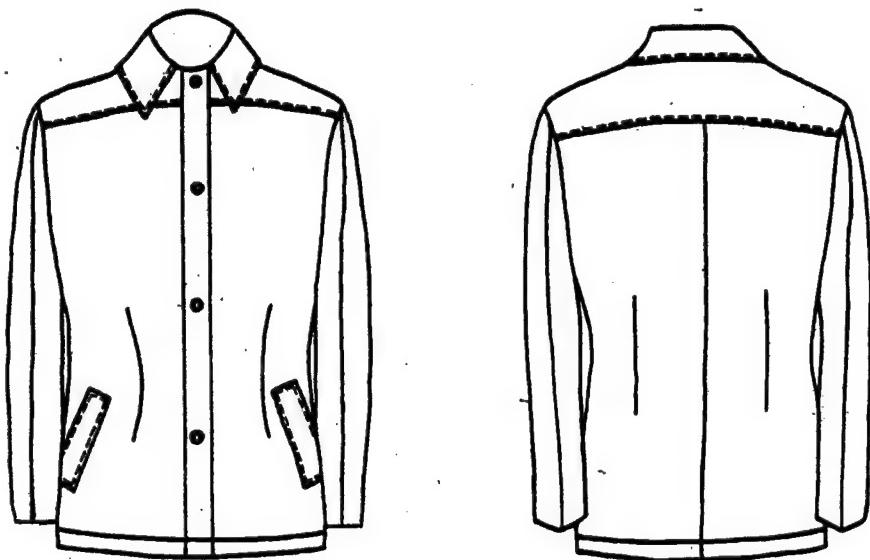
Fur Cap



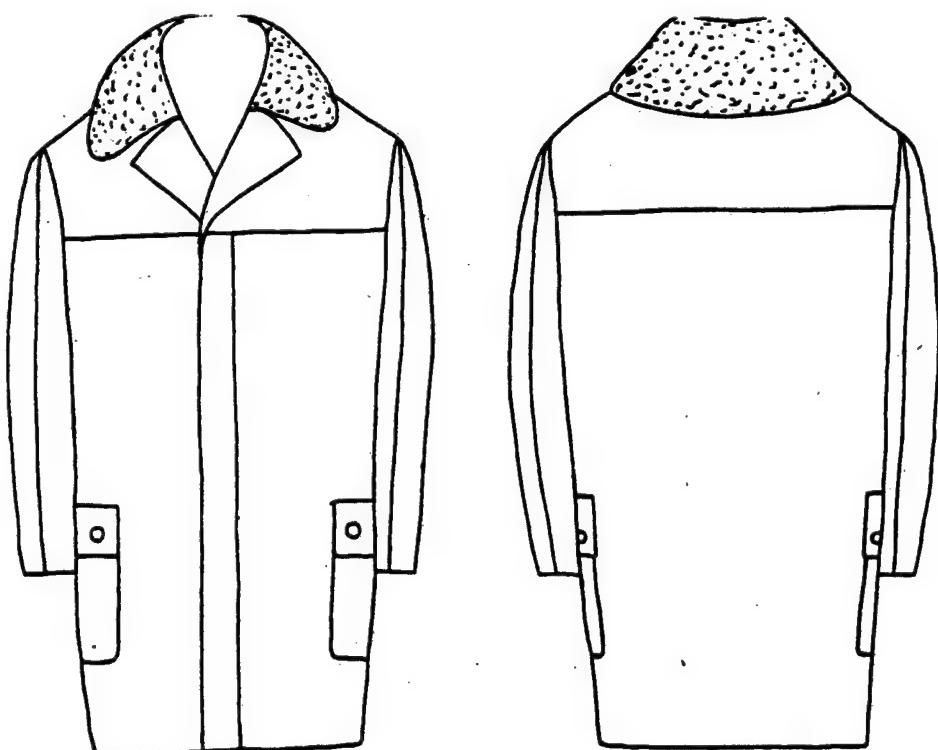
Drill Trousers



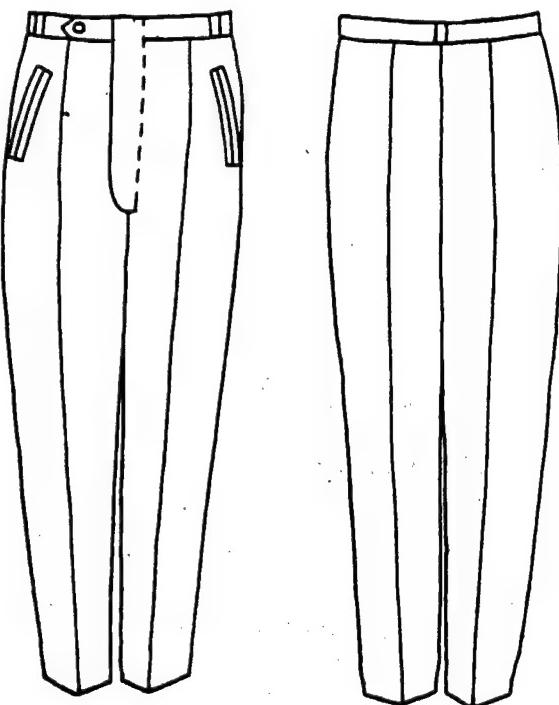
Drill Blouse



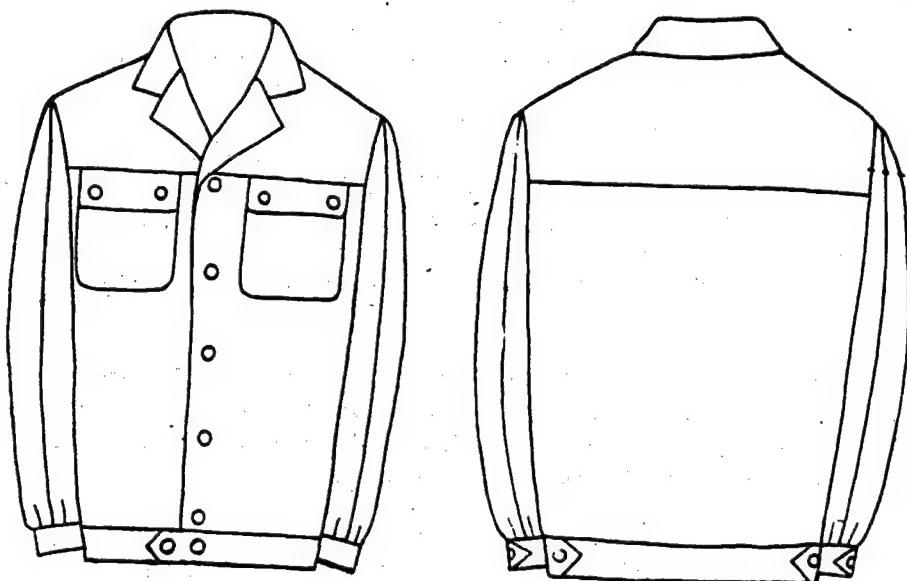
Drill Jacket



Dress Jacket



Dress Trousers



Dress Blouse

9295
CSO: 2600/871

POLAND

CONFERENCE ON ROLE OF INTELLIGENTSIA HELD

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 25-26 Feb 84 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Adamski: "Intellectual--Entity Unknown"]

[Text] In early February, Marxists (sociologists, philosophers, political scientists) arrived from all universities to deliberate about the Polish intelligentsia. In this debate professors with famous names took part: Kubiak; Wiatr; Ladosz; Markiewicz; Reykowski; many other scholars; and many academic teachers. The debate was heated; the topic is, as is well known, absorbing. Why?

For scientists, above all, this is for methodological reasons. What the intelligentsia is is not well known; in sociological sciences there is no proper definition of intelligentsia that is accepted by everyone. But it is said worldwide that perhaps this term is of no use to sociology, that perhaps it is only regional (namely Polish), that wherever the intelligentsia exists it is a very internally diverse group, and so it is difficult to separate and is also diversified in its moral and intellectual attitudes; that, in addition, it is rapidly growing in numbers, probably due to the scientific-technological revolution so clearly visible here and there. This revolution causes changes wherever there really are class relations and the nature of social stratification.

Here in Poland, research of this type is not currently being conducted, so what is the Polish intelligentsia today can only be presumed; concrete data is lacking. What is left to employ is theoretical speculation instead of analysis of facts, since these are little known.

But scientists are also human, and so for them, as for everyone, the topic of the intelligentsia is fascinating, also for less scientific reasons, because the intelligentsia exists here not only and not so much as a human group, but primarily as an aspiration, as a need and belief. Aspiration toward the government of souls, the need for separateness and elitism (or for exclusivity), belief in an extraordinary historical and social mission. Our national history often extinguishes these aspirations, does not allow the satisfaction of this need and puts this belief to the test. It was so from the beginning. Problems of the intelligentsia were created in Poland by the November uprising, and therefore by the military as well as political defeat,

and thus by the defeat of a way of thinking as well as a way of acting. The Polish managerial elite showed then for the first time its characteristic alienation, inability and indolence. From then on, self-criticism of the intelligentsia became a specific trend in Polish culture that is authenticated by great and renowned names: from Mochnicki to Mrozek, from Norwid to Milosz, from Brzozowski to Chalasinski and Wyko. The intelligentsia exists here, therefore, not only as an aspiration, need and belief, but also (equally as strong) as a negation. And this ties it with an old Polish tradition: Sarmatism.

But, after all, not exclusively, because the intelligentsia is not only the successor of Sarmatism, but the creator of new and different values. It was the intelligentsia that created Polish positivism; it worked out the culture of the Young Poland era; it is credited with the worldwide success of the Polish avant-gard,...etc. This is true. However, when formulating this undisputed truth, one speaks of the intelligentsia not as a separate and defined managerial elite, but as a loose community of artists and writers. One is not thinking of any "creative association," though, because it is not they who create culture, but rather again the aspirations, needs and beliefs: ethos.

So when the intelligentsia is accusing itself and when others accuse it, one talks above all about this ethos. There is a change in the point of view: from sociological to psychological. It is in the difference and conflict of ethos (that is, in the totality of norms regulating behavior) that psychologists are looking for causes of the current clash between the intelligentsia and the authorities. As if the ethos of the authorities could not at all reconcile itself with the ethos of the intelligentsia. As if a more or less latent conflict between the authorities and the intellectuals had its roots in the psychological nature of things. As if only the intellectuals were pertinent to this age-old clash occurring between him who commands and him who must be obedient. In such a formulation, the problem of the intelligentsia appears to be a mystification of a political struggle, and the name "intelligentsia" becomes a substitute term.

Therefore let us call things by their proper names. Let us shy away from substitutes camouflaging falsehood and kind euphemisms muting the sharpness, correctness and identifications which are simplifications. Identification of intelligentsia and indolence, intellectual and eternal oppositionist, intelligentsia and elite, intelligentsia and bureaucracy is a way of thinking which is clearly inadequate. Neither sociology nor psychology authorizes it at all. However, one can also employ yet another point of view, the one which the history of culture employs, especially since today, here, the existence of the intelligentsia as a distinct group worthy of distinction is indicated not so much by the kind of work, custom, education or sense of humor, but by accomplishment. Not so much by ethos, but by creativity. Not so much by posture, but by deeds. If, therefore, it is so difficult to define intelligentsia, one must enumerate its current tasks. We tried to do this: a small review of these tasks, one that is initial, superficial and restricted only to humanists, but which could be formulated even in the columns of a daily newspaper.

Is not a serious and broad discussion needed? Is not a program for enriching broadly understood cultural values (from technology to poetry) indispensable? Is it not necessary to put things in this manner if one wants the intelligent-sia finally to establish itself and, instead of talking about itself, to take up work for others and its own society? It seems that the National Council of Culture is inclined to answer these rhetorical questions positively. And rightfully so. Personally, I do not like it when I am assured that I can play an important role. I definitely prefer to know what needs to be done.

12540
CSO: 2600/778

STATISTICS ON ZSL MEMBERS FURNISHED

Warsaw CHLOPSKA DROGA in Polish 25 Mar 84 p 13

[Article by (s): "Some Statistics on the United Peasants' Party"]

[Text] The contents of the drafts of the Declaration on Ideology, the Political Program, and the Statute of the United Peasants' Party [ZSL] are proof that the ZSL remains loyal to the progressive ideals belonging to the past of the people's labor movement and a real force in politics at the same time. The ZSL wishes to concentrate its efforts on building a better tomorrow for the country. Thus, we can outline in a very general way the present program and tasks of the ZSL.

What are the statistics? The United Peasants' Party had almost 471,000 members by the end of 1983. The ZSL's strongest organizations are active in the provinces of Bydgoszcz, Opole, Kielce and Lublin. In the final quarter of last year, 2,580 of the newly won members were young people under the age of 29. Within the ZSL membership, peasants make up the nucleus and most influential group at 70.8 percent. Worker-peasants who work on the collective farms are included in this group.

White-collar workers make up the next largest group of the party's total membership with 21.2 percent. These include agricultural services workers, teachers and employees from rural institutions and organizations or institutions and organizations involved in agriculture, and the members of the creative intelligentsia.

Laborers, craftsmen and several hundred students and pupils also belong to the ZSL.

The largest percentages of peasants organized by the ZSL are in the provinces of Radom (87.6 percent), Tarnobrzeg (84.5 percent), Siedlce (81.7 percent) and Pila (80.2 percent of the total membership). The provinces of Katowice and Slupsk have the least number of peasants in their ZSL ranks because of the economic activities in these areas.

Women make up 25.9 percent of the ZSL's total membership. In Katowice and Jelenia Gora provinces, women account for 38.9 percent and 35.3 percent, respectively, of the total ZSL provincial membership there, while the

Kielce, Zamosc and Poznan ZSL provincial organizations have the lowest numbers of women in their memberships. Seventeen percent of the ZSL's total membership is under 29 years of age. The Bialystok, Leszno and Suwalski ZSL provincial organizations have the most young people. More than 17,600 ZSL members belong to the Rural Youth Union [ZMW], while more than 13,800 ZSL members are also members of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP].

By the end of December 1983, 30,139 ZSL circles were active throughout the country, including 27,060 in the countryside. More than 2,900 ZSL circles are active in the cities and at various institutions; 83 circles are with institutions of higher learning.

The ZSL in the coalitional exercise of authority is represented by a vice premier, the minister of health and social welfare, the minister of the forestry and timber industry, and eight deputy ministers. Additionally, ZSL members occupy leadership positions in the central agencies of the cooperative movement and state offices.

There are 114 ZSL members of the Sejm, including the speaker, 6 commission chairpersons and 20 commission vice chairpersons. Four ZSL representatives are on the State Council, including a deputy chairman and secretary.

Many members of the United Peasants' Party participate in the efforts of governmental consultative and advisory agencies, including the Food Economy Council (Roman Malinowski, chairman), the Consultative Council, the Socio-political Committee and other agencies working for the Council of Ministers. Throughout the country, ZSL members perform the duties of provincial people's council chairpersons in 10 provinces, are the governors of 10 provinces and a vice governors of 38. The number of ZSL members in leadership positions in the gminas, cooperative movements, and agricultural trade unions, both in the provinces and at individual sites, has increased.

The United Peasants' Party took an active part in the building of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]; it not only was its sponsor, but also its co-founder. In the 400-member PRON National Council the ZSL is represented by 49 people, by 7 people in the Executive Committee and by 10 people on PRON's Central Finance Control Commission.

Thus statistics point to the role and prominence of the ZSL in our country.

12247
CSO: 2600/856

NEW PASSPORT REGULATIONS CLARIFIED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Feb 84 p 2

[Interview with Col Zygmunt Szczepanski, head of Passport Office, Ministry of Internal Affairs, by Wojciech Kazmierczak, PAP reporter: "How Will We Travel Abroad?"]

[Text] [Question] How often did Polish citizens travel abroad last year?

[Answer] Nearly 1.3 million Poles visited socialist countries last year--almost twice as many as in 1982. Besides, we have issued over 470,000 passports to capitalist countries, or about 40 percent more than a year before. Surely, compared to 1981, when more than 1.2 million people traveled to the West, this is not too large a number; however, it certainly reflects a stabilization in foreign exchange as the social and economic situation in the country returns to normal. This is also attested by the numbers of visits to Poland. Last year we received more than 640,000 citizens of capitalist countries, or more than in 1981, and almost as many as in 1980.

[Question] The abolition of martial law last July has also become another invitation to return for people who temporarily went to capitalist countries and did not return in the declared time. Are there still many of our countrymen staying abroad?

[Answer] The number of people who continue their stay abroad or have decided to stay there for good has dropped from 200,000 during the first months of martial law to about 100,000 today. This remains a rather sensitive social issue. Marriages were broken, children have lost their fathers...

We made no difficulties for people when they wanted to leave, nor do we forbid them to return at any moment. General Wojciech Jaruzelski stated clearly that a Pole's place is in his motherland. Whoever wants to may return, and--if he did not commit any action hurting the interests of the Polish People's Republic--no legal liability will be applied. Indeed, many people return, even those previously interned and those who for a long time sought to emigrate to West Germany. Often they return with no money and with the baggage of sad experience. Also, we help in uniting the families that decided to stay in the West. Passports are given to wives who decided to join their husbands,

although this does not pertain to individuals who do not guarantee that they will provide for their families abroad.

[Question] In 1981, leaving the country was made possible for all those who did not accept Polish political principles. How many people took advantage of this possibility?

[Answer] So far 2,800 former internees and people with oppositionist attitudes have applied for passports. We have issued 1,921 passports, and the remaining applications are in the process of consideration. The percentage of declined applications is minimal. At present, 1,054 people from this group (not including family members) have left the country. The rest keep calling on various embassies trying to obtain a visa. There are very many cases when the passport was returned because of the failure to obtain a visa to a capitalist country.

[Question] On 31 March, new passport regulations become effective. Please cite the most significant changes.

[Answer] Essentially, they precisely specify the reasons for which a passport application can be declined. There are nine such reasons. Those which are important for a regular Pole are: no coverage for expenses while staying abroad; the necessity to provide care or support for a person left in the country; suspicions of one's having committed a criminal or criminal-financial felony. An important change from the previous regulations is that an explanation of reasons to decline a passport application is now required in writing.

[Question] What will be the practical basis for us to travel abroad this year?

[Answer] For group travel to socialist countries one will need an identity card with an entry that authorizes one to cross the border and that is provided with an additional seal. No fee is charged; one need only fill out a questionnaire in a passport office. Individual trips upon invitation from relatives or acquaintances or on the basis of certificates purchased at travel bureaus will as before be based on passports. Presently issued passports to the socialist countries will be valid for 5 years. One need not surrender them upon returning to Poland. Nor has one to surrender his identity card when obtaining the passport. Prior to departure one is to equip oneself with a border crossing card which can be obtained in the travel bureau, at a border crossing point or in a passport office. Such a card is not required for travel based on the identity card.

I would like to suggest to individuals who plan to visit socialist countries not to apply for passports "just in case." This would cause a backlog of work in passport departments. Only if one has sure case--e.g., an invitation--should one apply for passport at an office appropriate for his residence area. On the other hand, however, one should not procrastinate until the last minute, thereby inviting unnecessary nervousness before departure.

Permission to travel to capitalist countries is granted upon invitation from family members, relatives or acquaintances. Possession of a hard-currency account cannot serve as a basis for the issuance of a passport. As the social, political and economic situation in the country stabilizes, the passport regulations--which in fact result from these issues--will develop toward further facilitation of travel abroad.

12621
CSO: 2600/789

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

VOJVODINA LC NOMINATIONS--The Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina at its session yesterday confirmed the nomination of Bosko Krunic as candidate for president of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina for a 1-year term, and of Hajnal Katalin for secretary of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina for a 2-year term. [Excerpt] [AU151545 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Mar 84 p 6]

NEW SUDANESE AMBASSADOR--Belgrade--Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, yesterday received the credentials of Abd Sinada, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Democratic Republic of Sudan to the SFRY. Mika Spiljak had a friendly talk with Ambassador Sinada which was also attended by Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Muhamed Berberovic, general secretary of the SFRY Presidency; and others. [Text] [AU151619 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7-8 Apr 84 p 7]

NEW PORTUGUESE AMBASSADOR--Belgrade--Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, yesterday received credentials from Antonio Borjes Granya do Vale [name as published], newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Portugal to the SFRY, and had a friendly talk with him. The reception was attended by Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Muhamed Berberovic, general secretary of the SFRY Presidency; and others. [Text] [AU151619 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7-8 Apr 84 p 7]

CROATIAN SUBNOR OFFICIALS ELECTED--Zagreb, 12 Apr (TANJUG)--The Presidium of the Republican Committee of the Croatian SUBNOR [Federation of Veterans' Associations of Yugoslavia] today elected prominent socio-political worker and holder of the 1941 partisan certificate of service, Jovica Jokic, as its new president. The members of the presidium paid tribute to the work and commitment of the outgoing president, Jure Ivezic. Vjekoslav Dude was reelected secretary. [Summary] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1522 GMT 12 Apr 84 LD]

ARMY SCIENTIFIC COUNCIL--Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mumula, federal secretary for national defense, has appointed new members of the Council of Scientific Work in the SFRY Armed Forces for a 4-year term of office. Lieutenant General Avgust Vrtar was appointed president of the council. At the constituent session of the council on 28 March, the following presidents of the commissions of the council were appointed: Colonel Nikola Segota, president of the Commission for

Cooperation with Scientific Organs, Organizations, and Communities Outside the Yugoslav People's Army; Colonel Vldimir Neskovic, president of the Commission for Organization, Direction, and Promotion of Inventions, Innovations, and Rationalization in the Yugoslav People's Army; Colonel Cedomir Markovic, president of the Commission for Scientific Documents and Information; Colonel Dr Radisa Rakic, president of the Commission for Scientific Meetings; and Colonel Prof Dr Bogdan Boskovic, president of the Commission for Scientific Cadres. [Excerpt] [AU181336 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2335 12 Apr 84 p 2]

BELGRADE LC OFFICIALS--Belgrade, 16 Apr (TANJUG)--At the session today of the LC City Committee in Belgrade, Slobodan Milosevic, a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Serbia League of Communists, was elected president of the City Committee with a 2-year term of office, while Milovan Popovic was reelected secretary of the Presidium of the LC City Committee. [Summary] [LD190612 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1229 GMT 16 Apr 84]

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